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# THE JOURNAL

OF

## THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF IRELAND

FOR THE YEAR 1903.

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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART I., VOL. XXXIII.

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### Papers.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING  
ON TUESDAY, 27<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY, 1903.

BY JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A. (LOND. AND SCOT.),  
D.L., PRESIDENT.

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PRELIMINARY AND PERSONAL.

FELLOWS AND MEMBERS OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND—

IN accordance with the usage of our Society, its President, on entering on his three-years term of office, has to deliver, on the evening of the day of his election, an Inaugural Address. The time available for its preparation is very limited; and it might be thought advisable to postpone the performance of this duty to a later date.

I prefer, however, to take the earliest opportunity of meeting the Fellows and Members of the Society, and expressing to them my thanks for the honour they have done me.

I am conscious of suffering under the disqualifications of living at a considerable distance from Dublin, and of having reached an age which involved my having twice been retired from the office of Vice-President

Jour. R.S.A.I. { Vol. XIII., Fifth Ser. }  
                  { Vol. XXXIII., Consec. Ser. }

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on account of seniority. A similar fate has happened to me in the Royal Irish Academy; and it is nearly a quarter of a century since I withdrew from its Treasurership, on removing to the country.

While it was my pleasing duty to serve the Academy in that office, along with your late President, who for many years was elected to the onerous office of Secretary, I was often tempted to regard this Society as one admirably adapted to train recruits for the Academy; but, since it has been your pleasure to place at your head two retired officers of that body, I am disposed to believe that, besides its chartered function of promoting the study of science, polite literature, and antiquities, it performs another useful function, namely, the training and supplying of Presidents to this less venerable and more popular Society, which exhibits an activity, perhaps attributable to youth.

The disqualifications of age in your President and distance from Dublin may have some compensatory advantages. Age is generally credited with wisdom, and seems appropriate in a Society of Antiquaries. And as regards my residence in the country, it may be well that a Society which originated in the provincial city of Kilkenny, which not only claims all Ireland as its domain, but year after year exploits it to its furthest corners, which has officials for every province and every county, and which draws so large a number of its members from beyond the limits of the capital, should occasionally look afield and select a President from the Provinces.

There were, however, two other considerations which made me hesitate when I was asked if I would allow my name to be put forward for the office. I was painfully conscious that I had not done much for this Society, and that I should come after one under whose presidency it had attained to a position of remarkable prosperity. Dr. Wright, I knew well, brought to its service exceptionally great experience, knowledge, and zeal; and he further had the advantage of leisure in the midst of the abodes of learning. All of us, doubtless, recognise how well and wisely he has guided the work of the Society; and it is satisfactory to know that, as a Vice-President—albeit transplanted to Munster—we shall still have his counsel and co-operation.

#### SUBJECTS FOR ADDRESS.

When, last month, it became necessary for me to consider what topics to bring before you in this address, I was embarrassed by the unlimited range available. The past, the present, and the future all suggest subjects worthy of your attention; but I concluded that, in addressing a Society of Antiquaries, my choice should lead me to deal chiefly with the past.

Looking backwards, then, through the three years of my predecessor's presidency, my attention was arrested by the recent Coronation of King Edward VII. and some events following on his accession to the Throne. As Prince of Wales, he had long been Patron-in-Chief of our Society, and now, as King, he is still graciously pleased to occupy that position.

To His Royal Mother, Queen Victoria, this Irish Society of Antiquaries is indebted for being permitted—alone amongst the Societies of Antiquaries of the United Kingdom—to prefix to its title, since 1869, the epithet “Royal”; and, accordingly, in its badge, which figures in the forefront of its publications, a crown occupies the most prominent position.

One might be tempted to expatiate on the unrivalled antiquity of the Royal line which King Edward represents. One might moralize on the various dynasties through which, from Saxon times, the crown has devolved—Danish, Norman, Angevin, Tudor, Stuart, Hanoverian—until, by the accession of King Edward, it has again reverted to a Saxon Monarch, and one of a race so ancient that its name is now almost unknown. Strange it is to reflect that this metropolis, which was so long under the dominion of Danish or Scandinavian Kings (whose coins are almost the earliest to perplex our antiquaries), now owes allegiance to a Danish Queen.

But I prefer to avoid such discursive topics, and to refer briefly to the way in which the advent of a new Sovereign and some consequent events have affected Ireland, chiefly in relation to the coinage.

I take up this topic the more readily, because, though this country and this Society in the past century possessed many notable numismatists, such as Lindsay, Simon, Aquilla Smith, and Dr. Frazer, this important branch of historical research seems nowadays to be but fitfully cultivated. It may be that the study of postage stamps, and what the President of another society, in his valedictory address, a few days ago, stigmatized as the “craze” for book-plates, have monopolised most of the available zeal, in favour of more fashionable, if less instructive, researches. Our antiquarian journals, which used to contain countless representations of coins, now seldom have a contribution on the subject. That of Mr. Patterson on the comparatively modern Cronebane, or St. Patrick's “half-pence,” in the last volume of our *Journal* (p. 261), was, therefore, the more welcome.

#### THE CORONATION STONE.

First, however, let me say a few words as to Ireland's share in the Coronation itself. A volume might be written about the famous Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny, which, since its removal from Scotland in 1296, has been used at every Coronation in Westminster Abbey. Its early history



and the controversies which have raged about its supposed connexion with Tara and the early monarchs of Ireland, with the Pharaoh of the Exodus, with Egypt and Spain, with the Milesian incursion into Ireland, and its alleged identity with the stone on which Jacob rested his head at Bethel, have engaged the pens of many antiquaries, and of some romancers. Mr. P. J. O'Reilly contributed to our *Journal* of last year (p. 77) a valuable series of notes on this stone; and I refer any one who desires to see its history concisely told to a paper written by Mr. James Hilton for the Royal Archæological Society in 1887, and to the summary of it in the beautiful "Coronation Book" of Mr. W. J. Loftie, F.S.A. He says that the actual stone, though often described as marble, "is really a piece of hard red sandstone, such as occurs in many places in Scotland, and especially in Argyllshire, where its authentic history may be said to begin."

This is just one of the cases—like the state of the tide at the battle of Clontarf, solved by Dr. Haughton—where the perplexities of antiquaries might expect aid from the votaries of science. Accordingly Professors Ramsay and Geikie, and several other geologists, were invited to aid, and the silent stone was subjected to microscopical and chemical examination. The result was mainly negative, and tended to displace the claims of Palestine, of Egypt, and, alas, of Tara, which were pronounced destitute of the red sandstone of the Lia Fail. Much scientific evidence has, however, been since adduced to prove that this class of stone is found in Moab, on the eastern side of the Red Sea, and also in Egypt; so, perhaps, Tara may yet be able to have its claim rehabilitated. Belfast, however, possesses a stone which is said to have been the Coronation Stone of the O'Neill monarchs.

The *Regalia* of England was broken up after the decapitation of Charles I., and, at the Restoration, a new set had to be provided for the Coronation of Charles II. A crown of his passed into private hands, and is, with others, in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney. The various vicissitudes of the crowns would take too long to recount. It is a remarkable fact that the oldest crown pertaining to the King is that of Scotland. Two elaborate and beautifully-illustrated accounts of the Scottish Regalia, by Messrs. Reid and Brook, were prepared for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and published by it in 1890. After the Union of Scotland with England, in 1707, the Regalia, including the Crown and Sceptre and a very beautiful Sword of State, given by Pope Julius II. in 1507, were deposited in a great oak chest in the Castle of Edinburgh. There they lay until 1818, hidden and almost forgotten for over a century. In that year, partly at the instance of Sir Walter Scott, the oak chest was opened. This was done by driving out the joint-pins of one hasp and cutting through the other; for the keys, of course, were not forthcoming.

Eventually the crown, &c., with other interesting objects, including insignia of the Order of the Garter, &c., bequeathed to George III. by Cardinal York, were removed from their oaken tomb, and they may now be seen in Edinburgh Castle.

#### IRISH CROWNS.

What have we in Ireland of such symbols of Royalty, and what do we know of Irish Regalia in the past? I commend this subject to our members as worthy of further investigation, and I proceed to offer a few observations on Irish Crowns.

When Dermod O'Connor, styling himself "Antiquary of the Kingdom of Ireland," published, in 1723, the first printed English translation of Keating's "History," he concluded his Preface with a long paragraph, commencing thus:—

"There has been a dispute among learned men whether the ancient kings of Ireland of the Milesian race wore crowns of gold, after the manner of other nations. We are informed by Hector Boetius, in his 2nd and 10th book, that the kings of Scotland from the time of Fergus, to the reign of Achaius, used a plain crown of gold, '*Militaris valli forma*,' in the form of a military trench; and it is more than probable that in this practice they followed the Irish monarchs, from whom they derived their descent and customs. And this conjecture is still rendered more reasonable by a golden cap, supposed to be a provincial crown, that was found in the year 1692 in the Co. of Tipperary, at a place called Barnanely, by the Irish, and by the English the Devil's bit. It was discovered about ten feet under ground by some workmen that were digging up turf for firing. This cap or crown weighs about 5 oz. The border and the head is raised in chase work in the form here represented; and it seems to bear some resemblance to the close crown of the Eastern empire, which was composed of the helmet, together with a diadem, as the learned Selden observes in his *Titles of Honour*, Part 1., chap. 8. Some of the antiquaries of Ireland have imagined that this was the crown worn by some provincial kings under the command of Bryan Boiroimbe, who beat the Danes in so many battles; others are rather inclined to believe that it belonged to the Irish monarchs before the planting of Christianity in that kingdom; and they give this reason: because it is not adorned with a cross, which was the common ensign of Christian princes. However, it is a valuable piece of curiosity, and would unavoidably have been melted down had it not been preserved by Joseph Comerford, Esq., a curious gentleman, descended from a younger brother of Comerford, in the Co. Stafford, who attended King John in his expedition to Ireland, and there married a niece of Hugo de Lacy, a great favourite of that king; ever since which time the family has flourished in that country, and were formerly Barons of Danganmore. This gentleman being rendered incapable, by reason of his religion, to purchase lands in his own country, has bought the Marquisate of Anglure, with a good estate, on the river Aule, in Champagne."

Annexed to this account is a small wood-cut representation of this cap or crown, which is the only such illustration in the text, and so catches the reader's eye. Prefixed to this volume is a fanciful engraved picture of Brian Boru, "Monarch of Ireland, Ano. Dom. 1027." He is



represented in regal and warlike panoply, wearing a crown (to be presently noticed), and holding in one hand a sceptre, and in the other a shield, with his arms—the three lions. On a table beside him is another representation of the crown or cap described in the Preface. Under it appears, embroidered on the table-cover, a harp of impossible shape. (See plate.) The shamrock had not established itself even then as a national emblem.

When, over forty years later, Walter Harris brought out his translation of Sir James Ware's works, from the Latin, he explained, in his brief Preface to the "Antiquities of Ireland," what part he had in the work, and says:—

"I have discussed two points not well settled by our native writers:—1st, Whether the ancient kings of Ireland wore a crown? And 2ndly, Whether they were inaugurated into that office by the Ceremony of Uncion, or by any other, and what Ceremonies?"

Accordingly these topics are discussed at length in chapter 10, where a summary is given of O'Connor's notice of the gold cap or crown above quoted, the only information added respecting it being that it was supposed to remain in France amongst the descendants of Mr. Joseph Comerford, who carried it to that country. A representation of it, identical with those referred to as given in Keating, is the first of the few engravings of Irish antiquities shown in this and in the former English edition of Ware.

It is as unlike a modern crown as it could be. In shape it is more like a mandarin's cap. The edges are turned up and peaked; but it has no rays, and the ornamentation seems to consist mainly of repeated circles. No cross figures upon it.

I wish I could tell you what has become of it. If it has escaped the melting-pot, it would be welcomed by our museum authorities.

Although this is the only *golden* object hitherto depicted and described as possibly the crown of an Irish king, I know that it is now supposed that some of the larger crescent-shaped gold plates in our museum may have been worn, like a nimbus, round the head, and were regal ornaments. The question is too vague to be now pursued. I must, however, briefly refer to a stone representation of a mediæval Irish crown, and some bronze objects, which are supposed to be fragments of a much more ancient one.

We have representations of the seal, and of the monumental effigy of Felim O'Connor, King of Connaught, who died in 1265, and was interred in the Dominican Friary of Roscommon, which he had founded a few



IRISH CROWNS.

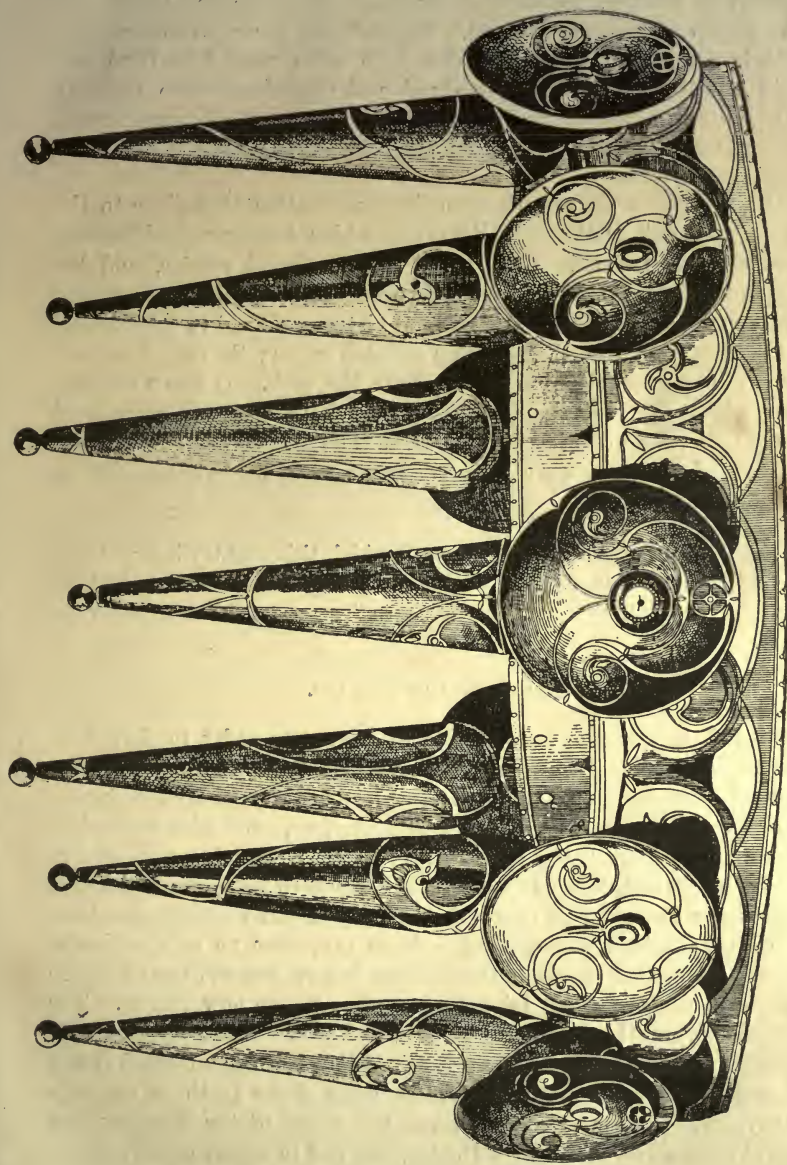
(From Keating's "History," first English edition, 1723.)



years before. According to Walker's "Dress, &c., of the Irish," his monument was not erected until more than a quarter of a century later, so was not contemporaneous. It has been described more than once in our *Journal*, and is noticed in the history of the family by O'Connor Don. The stone effigy of the king has been much mutilated. The right arm holds a sceptre, the head of which is of *fleur-de-lis* shape. Mr. O'Gorman, who described the tomb in 1866 in our *Journal* (p. 546, with plate), says that, on close examination of the king's head, a small portion of the crown may be seen, and, "judging from the fragment which remains, the crown was formed by a fillet some two or three inches deep, from which sprung three obtuse points [*? angles*], one at each side of the head, and one in front." A note suggests that the sculptor was not an Irish but an English artist.

I now come to the most interesting and less known example—that of bronze. We are probably indebted to its material for its survival, and we are indebted to the late Miss Margaret Stokes for divining its use. Just a month before his death Mr. John M. Kemble, who was one of the greatest archaeologists of Northern Europe, delivered an address to the Royal Irish Academy, in February, 1857. Discussing a form of the double spiral line found chiefly amongst Celtic remains in these islands, he referred to some similar objects in the Academy's Museum, adding—"Perhaps there is, in all Europe, no more striking one than an implement of unknown use, in the possession of our great archaeological master, Dr. Petrie. For beauty of design and beauty of execution (says Kemble) this may challenge comparison with any specimen of cast-bronze work that it has ever been my good fortune to see." Much as Kemble, and probably Petrie and Dr. Todd, admired this scrap of bronze, it was not until more than twenty years later that Miss Stokes, with that wonderful instinct which few possess, suggested the purpose for which so much skill had been lavished upon it.

She found that Dr. Petrie possessed another similar fragment, and, combining these, she arrived at the conclusion that they formed part of an Irish crown of remote antiquity. Having prepared an elaborate description and drawings of these wonderfully interesting objects, Miss Stokes showed a conjectural "Restoration of an Irish Radiated Crown" (see plate), and she read before the Society of Antiquaries, in London, a descriptive Paper, which was published in the forty-seventh volume of *Archæologia*. In that Paper she gives references to the early legends of Ireland relating to such diadems or crowns. I cannot delay to refer to these, or other literature on the subject, but must try briefly to describe the shape of the crown so constructed conjecturally. Round the top of a band, about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, there are fixed (seven) circular plates of somewhat greater diameter, and from the back of each springs a cone or ray  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches high. All are elaborately ornamented with the earliest



IRISH RADIATED CROWN.

Conjecturally restored, from two bronze fragments, by the late Miss Margaret Stokes. (From *Archæologia*, vol. 47.)

form of the divergent spiral or trumpet-pattern. Though probably not specimens of casting, as Kemble supposed, they are in design and workmanship perhaps unsurpassed. The radiated crown, so constructed, agreed in form with those first shown on coins minted in Gaul and Britain a century before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland; but these bronzes (now in our National Museum) are probably considerably older, and may date from the beginning of the Christian era.

Miss Stokes did not remark upon the confirmation thus given to the form of radiated or "Eastern" crown, which has been traditionally associated with Ireland. It is found on the Cashel crozier, and led Petrie to think that it was of Irish workmanship, which, however, would scarcely now be admitted. The fanciful picture prefixed to "Keating," and already referred to, shows such a radiated crown; the rays, however, which are five in number, spring only from the back. It was a radiated crown which Sir William Betham, Ulster King-of-Arms, introduced when devising new armorials for the Royal Irish Academy in 1846, so that Miss Stokes' discovery gave some confirmation to modern heraldry in this.

Whether any of the "Sunburstery," which this country is sometimes supposed to have transplanted to America, may have been inspired by reminiscences of this radiated or "Eastern" crown, I leave to others to discuss.

#### IRELAND ON THE COINAGE.

But it is time to pass from crowns to coins. In order to show how gradually and completely Ireland has vanished from the coinage, a few historical facts must be mentioned; and I advise anyone who desires to study the subject within a reasonable compass, and with up-to-date illustrations, to consult the Handbook by Mr. H. A. Grueber, published in 1899 by the British Museum authorities. You need not be alarmed at the prospect of a discussion as to whether any of the many early monarchs of Ireland ever coined money—suffice it to say, that no coin with the image or inscription of any of those kings is now known, nor do letters of the form usually called Irish appear on any coin now extant. The inscriptions from the earliest times were in Latin. If the very interesting series recently arranged in our National Museum be examined, it will be found to commence with the Danish coins of the tenth or eleventh century, which bear on the reverse the name of the moneyer and place of coinage, identified with Dublin, &c., and in letters usually styled Lombardic. Then came the Hiberno-English series in 1177, commencing with those of John, son of Henry II., as Lord of Ireland, consisting of silver halfpennies and farthings, and afterwards pennies, struck in Dublin and Waterford, as indicated by the inscriptions.



John De Courcy, Earl of Ulster, who was constituted Governor in 1185, had farthings coined at Downpatrick and Carrickfergus, which were called "Patrick's." Little is known about the coins of the first three Edwards; but in their time the title *DNS. HYB.* (Lord of Ireland) appears, with Dublin, &c., as the place of issue. For about three centuries this formula—sometimes expanded and slightly varied—prevailed. In 1478 the seventh issue of Edward IV. introduced the additional titles (in Latin of course) of "King of England and France." It bore three crowns, in pale, and was called "three crowns money" from that. Mr. Grueber thinks these crowns probably represented the arms of Ireland at that time (as they since did those of one of its provinces—Munster); but may they not also refer to the Three Kingdoms, then first named on the coinage? In this reign there was another issue of farthings, with a bust of St. Patrick, mitred, facing, bearing the words *PATRICIUS* and *SALVATOR*, and the title "Rex" was sometimes substituted for "Dominus," which it finally superseded in 1541. Mention of the place of minting gradually became less usual.

Considerable changes were made under Henry VIII., silver only being coined, and new denominations introduced, representing sixpence, three-pence, three-halfpence, and three-farthings. The arms of England and France were shown, quartered, on the obverse; and on the reverse was introduced the harp, which, sometimes associated with Hibernia, written or depicted, held its place generally as long as a separate coinage for Ireland existed. In the English coinage it first appeared under James I.

It must be borne in mind that the coinage minted in Ireland, or bearing special Irish devices, has always supplied but a small part of the money current in Ireland. From the time of Charles II. to the present, no *silver* money was coined in or exclusively for Ireland, except bank tokens. No money of any kind was struck for Ireland in the reign of Queen Anne. Under the two first Georges only halfpennies and farthings; under George III. these and pennies. The Irish series—exclusively copper—survived the Union, but came to an end with an issue of pennies and halfpennies, coined in Birmingham in 1822, soon after the accession of George IV. Since then we have had no coins but those common to the United Kingdom. The mint of Edinburgh had ceased operations in 1709.

From the time of William III. the Irish portion of the coinage was to all appearance exclusively Irish, having no reference to Great Britain, the King being simply described by the one word "Rex," and the harp (generally with Hibernia and the date) occupying the reverse, as Britannia did on the corresponding coins of the sister island.

Though gold is frequently mentioned in our "Annals" as a medium of exchange, not a single Irish gold coin, in the ordinary sense of the word "coin," has been proved to have existed. The solitary issue of gold pieces was one of the several series known as "money of necessity," which Dr. Aquilla Smith so ably described in our *Journal* for 1860. Mr. Grueber says it was called a "pistole," and belonged to the set called "Inchiquin money," of 1642, of which, he adds, "only two specimens are known, and both are of recent discovery." Like the silver pieces of the issue, they are irregularly shaped pieces of bullion, with no inscription such as is usual, but stamped with their weights in pennyweights and grains. It has been stated that they were struck chiefly for the purpose of paying the army.

Having thus referred to the coins which bore a special relation to Ireland only, I must pass on to consider the several issues common to England and Ireland, including those with which we of the present generation are concerned.

But here again it is necessary to advert to the changes which the Unions of England with Scotland and of both with Ireland, and the succession of different Sovereigns, entailed in the coinage, and the inscriptions thereon.

On every devolution of the crown, it was usual to issue a Royal Proclamation announcing the Regnal name of the new Sovereign, and the Royal Style and Title. Everyone knows that His present Majesty adopted as his Regnal name the second of his Christian names, as had also been done by his Royal Mother, Queen Victoria. It has become usual for the Popes on election to select names quite different from their baptismal names. Such names alone appear upon the coins and medals of the Sovereigns, but almost invariably in Latin. But the change of what is known as the *Royal Style*, though less generally remarked, is the one which now most isolates Ireland from the coinage of the Empire, so far as the inscriptions thereon.

William the Conqueror used the simple formula, "Rex Anglorum," taking his title (like the late French and present German Emperor) from the people, not the place, which latter the first of the Plantagenets adopted in preference. John figures as "Rex Angliæ and Dominus Hiberniæ." Nearly a century and a half later Edward III., in the 13th year of his reign, interposed France between England and Ireland. Henry VIII., in pursuance of Acts of the Irish and English Parliaments, substituted "Rex" for "Dominus" as applied to Ireland: abolishing the distinction previously existing.

While Mary and Philip jointly reigned, the Royal Style was elongated by Naples and Jerusalem being associated with France in keeping Ireland



apart from England, but, on the Shilling of 1555 and Groat of the following year (which were their only contribution to the Irish series of coins, and bore the Harp crowned, though made in London), they curtailed their title by restricting it to England, and the *ANGLIE* representing it was reduced on some of their shillings to the single letter *A*.

Under Elizabeth the Royal Style again reverted to "Queen of England, France, and Ireland"; but on one of the shillings of her extensive coinage for Ireland, the two former countries are represented by one letter each, while *HIBERNIE* in full stands for Ireland, so that it figured last but not least; and on a shilling of 1561 there were three harps.

Soon after the crowns of England and Scotland became united under James I., England (*ANGLIA*) disappeared from the coinage, and "*MAGNA BRITANNIA*" (Great Britain) came into use as the designation representing England and Scotland united. This, with France followed by Ireland, held the field, with some interruption during the Commonwealth and subsequently.

The Commonwealth, of course, discarded Royal Style; but it may be worth noting that though no regular coins were issued under it for Ireland, the Harp of Ireland was placed side by side with the Cross of St. George of England—Scotland being at first ignored—in the general coinage of 1649–52. The inscription on the obverse was in plain English, "The Commonwealth of England." In 1656 Cromwell had gold 50*s.* pieces called "Broads" struck, bearing his own head laureated, and on the reverse a crowned shield with the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew and the Irish harp: the Protector's own paternal arms being introduced, on an escutcheon of pretence, as the heralds call it. He reverted to Latin, and described himself as "*Olivar. D. G. R. P. [Reipublicæ] Ang. Sco. et Hib. Pro[tector].*" It will be observed that he restores England with Scotland in place of "Great Britain," and wisely drops out France.

With Charles II. the old order was restored, and Ireland figured prominently in the Royal Arms and in the inscriptions on all coins. In 1668 a new type of milled money appeared, bearing on the reverse the arms of the four kingdoms, arranged in the shape of a cross, under crowns, and showing four sceptres: that for Ireland having a small harp on its top, as on some recent coins.

The Legislative Union with Scotland seems not to have involved any change in the inscription on the coinage: "Great Britain," which then came into use in the Royal Style, superseding "England and Scotland,"

was continued on the coinage; but the arms of those two countries were impaled on one shield instead of being quartered quarterly as before, which had made the three lions of England and three *fleurs-de-lis* for France (each repeated four times) look small in contrast with the bold Harp of Erin and the Single Lion of Scotland.

With the Georges came in the use on the coinage of the title *FIDEL DEFENSOR* (long used on the Great Seal), and a perplexing array of additional letters, indicating that they were Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, and Arch-Treasurers of the Holy Roman Empire and Electors.

But in the reign of George III., on the Union with Ireland in 1801, a Royal Proclamation was issued, declaring the regal title not only in English but in Latin. The title of King of France was then at last finally abandoned. Ireland shared with Great Britain, in the *English* form, as it has ever since done, the exclusive honour of supplying the Regal title of the United Kingdom. But in the Latin version a new formula was invented which finally displaced "*HIBERNIA*" from the coinage, and brought into use the plural genitive word "*BRITANNIARUM*," presumably meaning "of the Britains"—great and small—(or, as some say, "of the British Islands"). No doubt ancient authority could be found for applying the name Britain to Ireland, but it never was a familiar designation.

When Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, on January 1st, 1870, that title was introduced on the coinage in the abbreviated and uncouth form *IND. IMP.* (which left it doubtful what the *IND.* is abbreviated from). The coin-inscriptions being thus crowded, the *BRITANNIARUM*, representing the United Kingdom, was generally curtailed to the abbreviated *BRITT.* (as it had been before on some coins). The final *T* was reduplicated to represent the plural, as in the formula *LL.D.* (for Doctor of Laws), where the double *L* indicates the plural. This explanation seems to have been overlooked by the authorities of the mint for some time, for the florins first issued not only omitted the "*Dei gratia*," (whence they got the nickname of "graceless"), but also the second *T* of this *BRITT.*, and it was nearly twenty years before the latter was restored. Now, what seems deserving of attention, especially in this country, is that this extra letter *T* was the last vestige of Ireland's appearing in the inscriptions on the coinage as forming with Great Britain the motherland of the Empire.

I say "was," for even that has now disappeared. Under the second Proclamation issued after the King's accession, on 4th of November, 1901, the Royal title was expanded, by way of compliment, it is supposed, to the Colonies, or, to quote the Act of Parliament authorizing

the change, "in recognition of His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas." Accordingly, the Royal Style and Titles to be used "henceforth, so far as conveniently may be, on all occasions, and in all instruments," when required, now run thus:—

- (1) In English, (which does not affect the coinage,)—"Edward VII, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India."
- (2) In Latin, (which alone concerns the coinage,)—"Edwardus VII, Dei Gratiâ Britanniarum et terrarum transmarinarum quæ in ditione sunt Britannicâ Rex Fidei Defensor, Indiæ Imperator."

The punctuation is that of the *Gazette*. It provides that all moneys then or afterwards "coined by Our authority with the like impressions," shall be "deemed and taken to be current and lawful moneys of the said United Kingdom; and further that all moneys coined for and issued in any of the Dependencies of the said United Kingdom and declared by our Proclamation to be current and lawful money of such Dependencies, respectively bearing Our Style or Titles, or *any part or parts thereof*," shall be lawful money thereof. This last clause seems to relate only to the Colonies, but it may have been held to warrant the abbreviation of the Royal Style, and the introduction of the compendious word OMNIUM (akin, of course, to the familiar "*omnibus*"). According to Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary*, the word DICIO (in the ablative), which it supersedes, is a "less correct form from DICIO."

The Royal Style is now expressed in Latin on the coinage, and appears on the recently issued coins of the Realm abbreviated as BRITT. OMN., representing doubtless BRITANNIARUM OMNIUM (of all the Britains). It might seem captious to inquire what constitutes a Britain; but certainly Ireland no longer enjoys a monopoly of the final T, and it has now ceased to figure in the inscriptions on the coinage, as England and Scotland had ceased before. How far its harp and shamrock remain may next be considered. If this be an injustice to all of the so-called Three Kingdoms, perhaps the simplest remedy would be to revert to a plain English form of title, and banish Latin altogether from the coinage, as has been already done in part; and as seems to be threatened in the education of the rising generation.

Let us now consider how, since the Union, Ireland has figured on the coinage in respect of the national emblems, as distinct from inscriptions. The order of King George III. in Council incidental to that Union in 1801 determined the necessary changes in the Royal Arms and



in the flags of the United Kingdom, and it recognised and officially adopted as national emblems the rose, thistle, and shamrock. The shamrock, and its colour, green, are comparatively modern symbols of Ireland. The same Royal order arranged that in the Union Flag the white transverse cross, or saltire cross of St. Andrew, was to be above the red saltire of St. Patrick on the one side and the reverse on the other. This red cross of St. Patrick, it may be worth noting in passing, had not come into use so early as the white cross of St. Andrew, which had long figured on the Scottish coinage. The earliest instance of use of this cross for Ireland, which I happen to have met with, is on the seal of Trinity College, which bears date "Aprill, 1612." In the armorial device on it the two towers of the castle, supposed to be derived from the arms of Dublin city, instead of being "fired, proper," are surmounted by flags, which close inspection shows to bear the upright cross of St. George and this saltire for St. Patrick's. It may be also worth noticing that the heraldic rule forbidding colour to touch colour, necessitated the interposition of "metal," represented by the silver or white line or "fimbriation," and this reduces by a third the area of St. Patrick's cross, while not affecting that of St. Andrew. The order in council overlooked this, while making provision to obviate national jealousy, not only, as just observed, as to the sides of the Union Jack, but also by providing for varying the juxtaposition of the three floral emblems: the shamrock being sometimes placed to the right of the rose, and sometimes the thistle. Well, how fared the harp and the shamrock on the coinage? We have already seen how Hibernia with her harp was, down to the time of George IV., allowed an ignoble existence, limited to the copper coinage, and on them restricted to coins only intended for circulation in Ireland. The shield under the figure of Britannia, who now alone appears on our bronze coinage, exhibits only the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, and so far Ireland is there unrepresented.

In 1816, after the long series of wars, it was decided to reorganize the coinage. Guineas gave place to sovereigns, and a series of new dies were engraved by Benedetto Pistrucci, an Italian, who devised the St. George and the Dragon, which has since mainly held the field. It is said that it was intended for a gem which was being engraved by the artist for Lord Spencer. I have no desire to disparage St. George, nor does it seem necessary to adopt such strong language regarding him as did Ruskin, who held him up to odium as a dishonest army contractor; but I submit that he should not have been allowed to supplant on our gold coinage, as he and his Dragon have twice done, the Royal Arms of the United Kingdom. If a saint must figure on our money, as St. Andrew long did on the Scottish coinage, and St. Patrick several times fitfully on the Irish, we might at least dispense with this outlandish personage and his Dragon.

It may be worth noting that Pistrucci not only introduced St. George and the Dragon, but that on the crown piece of George III., issued in 1818, he obtruded his own surname at length both on the obverse and reverse. On the half-crown he surrounded the Royal Arms with the Garter and Collar of that order, having a small pendent St. George. This introduction of England's patron saint was probably intended as a personal compliment to King George. If so it is now out of date, and should not have been continued under late Sovereigns. The reverse of the half-crowns of 1893, by Mr. Brock, and of the florins and shillings of the same year, by Sir E. J. Poynter, perpetuate this mode of treatment. Is it too much to hope that the arms of the United Kingdom may again appear on our gold coinage, and that the shamrock, rose, and thistle may be less sparingly used, and not, as in 1826, under the feet of the lion? Mr. William Wellesley Pole, Master of the Mint, abused the three leaves of the shamrock on the half-sovereigns of 1821, and on the half-crowns of 1820, by making them carry the three initials of his name—a liberty which the new Irish Master of the Mint will scarcely venture to repeat!

Strange to say, the supporters of the Royal Arms—the English lion and the Scottish unicorn—never gained a footing on the coinage, though it was accorded to St. George's Dragon. As Ireland does not contribute a supporter, it has no reason to complain of the omission of these two Royal beasts. The design for the reverse of our new shillings is a revival, in a modified form, of that supplied by J. B. Merlen, which was in use on what were known as "Lion" shillings from 1825 for four years. The elongated lion, which now displaces the separated arms of the three kingdoms, is not one of the supporters of the Royal Arms; but the animal of the Royal crest, who "jumps upon the crown." The shamrock, rose, and thistle were beneath both him and it on the shillings of George IV. Now the date, and the words "one shilling," take their place.

As it has lately been suggested that India should be represented in the Royal Arms and on the coinage, it may be worth recalling to mind that on some guineas of 1668, and down to 1726, an elephant appeared as symbol of the African Company, who imported from Guinea the gold which gave its name to the coin; and the letters E. I. C., "for East India Company," also appeared. Wales was not allowed any coins peculiar to itself, but there are examples bearing the plumes; and the letters W. C. C., for "Welsh Copper Company," were once admitted.

#### TREASURE-TROVE.—THE GOLD ORNAMENTS.

It might be expected that your President's address would deal with the controversy as to whether the dismal gold room at the British

Museum, or the National Museum in Dublin, is to provide a resting-place for the matchless and miscellaneous collection of gold objects unearthed in 1896 near Limavady. Your Council has in its present Report not touched this burning question, and I propose to follow their example, for reasons to which I may briefly advert. And, firstly, it seems to me that there is not much which can now be added to the literature on the subject. Mr. Arthur Evans's Paper, which first enlightened us about them, described them fully and well. Apart from numerous newspaper discussions, we have some fifty folio pages of the Report of the Treasury Committee (H. C. Return, 1st May, 1899, No. 179). The address of my predecessor in this chair in 1900 was mainly devoted to the subject of Irish Treasure-trove (see the *Journal*, vol. xxx.). Our chief excursion last year included a visit to the district in which the gold objects were found; and our Secretary, Mr. Cochrane, F.S.A., has enriched our *Journal* with a Paper which, from the suggested connexion with S. Columba, makes these objects—already supremely interesting as works of early art—of still greater interest to this country historically.

The Royal Irish Academy has latterly abstained from agitating the subject, since the Government decided on testing by process of law the question of ownership. But with the last issue of its Proceedings it has printed a lengthy Report, which will enable any one to see how the matter stands.

There were many curious questions not only about the law of Treasure-trove, but about the proper procedure. A coroner's inquisition was for a time deemed necessary. Issue has, however, been joined, and the case has been entered for hearing in London in the Chancery Division, before Mr. Justice Farwell, or Mr. Justice Swinfen-Eady, and it will probably come on within the next month, when, presumably, the Law Officers of England, on behalf of the Crown, will have charge of the proceedings against the Trustees of the British Museum. The case being thus *sub judice*, it would manifestly be improper to discuss its merits. The question there is one of law alone.

But I venture to give utterance to the opinion that for this and other reasons the Society of Antiquaries of London should have abstained from interfering with the Government on behalf of the British Museum, especially as the Museum official who bought these objects is the Secretary of that Society, and its President is one of the Trustees of the Museum.

The Society's resolution was passed at a special meeting held on the 28th of November, 1901. That Society, which by its name at least is associated only with London, therein avows its "keen interest in all matters



connected with the archæology of these islands," pronounces the British Museum to be the "central Museum of the Empire," and commits itself to the assertion that the gold objects in question are "remains of the Art of the Ancient Britons." Each of these statements suggests matter for controversy. I venture only to remark that they go far towards betraying a desire that outside of London no "Society of Antiquaries," no "National Museum," and no "gold ornaments" should be tolerated. The regret occasioned by the action of the Society of Antiquaries of London is accentuated by the consideration that that Society is presided over by an accomplished nobleman who, if not to be regarded as an Irishman, at least derives his title from this country.

The Society of Antiquaries of London, though housed at the expense of the State, has not established a Museum of its own. That was done by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in Edinburgh, by the Royal Irish Academy, in Dublin, and, on a smaller scale, by our Society in Kilkenny. The last alone of these was independent of Government assistance. Considering the difficulties experienced by these Societies in maintaining Libraries and Museums, the great and wealthy London Society may have been wise in not setting up a Museum, and the Academy may possibly not regret having been relieved of the housing of its Museum by the State. Several very interesting objects from our small Museum have been transferred to the same fine building.

#### THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN DUBLIN.

Ireland was long left by the Government without adequate provision for a Museum of Antiquities and of Industrial Art. But in 1868 the Chancellor of the Exchequer promised to give to Dublin an institution analogous to that at South Kensington, to which it should, under Irish direction, be a sister and not a subordinate. That promise remained long unfulfilled, and I can remember joining in a successful agitation, which found expression in a pamphlet which I published in 1876. But at length the Museum building and equipment were handsomely provided, and, as one of the Board of Visitors, I have loyally supported the management. Under one of the strange changes of fortune the Academy, which successfully resisted its Parliamentary grant being voted through the Department of "Science and Art," now finds its Museum, in common with Dublin Institutions of Science and Art, placed under an Irish Department of "Agriculture and Technical Instruction." So far the Museum has not suffered, but there has not been time for any far-reaching changes. It is not likely that an enlightened public opinion, fostered and educated by organizations such as ours, would tolerate such neglect as prevailed within living memory. But

already, as with the National Library, the Museum buildings are becoming congested, and the staff was never fully adequate. Therefore, while congratulating the Museum authorities on the success which has attended their operations so far, it may be well to remind them that this is the National Museum, and that its contents are to be treated as of historical importance, and not merely as subserving Technical Instruction, and to furnish patterns for artisans.

#### FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS.

There are three works in preparation relating to Ireland, which I think well to mention, not so much for the purpose of bringing them to your notice, as to bespeak help from those able to co-operate.

Irish Bibliography and the history of Printing in Dublin engaged the attention of Sir John Gilbert; and, not long before his lamented death, he prepared two Papers on the subject, one only of which has been partially published. Both, however, are to be edited for the Royal Irish Academy, within the coming year, by Mr. E. R. M'C. Dix. Following the plan of Mr. Anderson's excellent list of Belfast-printed books, Mr. Dix decided to publish an account of books, &c., printed in Dublin, but only during the seventeenth century. Three parts of this work have appeared since 1898, each embracing a quarter of the century, and each nearly doubling in size its predecessor (though the price remains unchanged). The remaining part, for 1676 to 1700, has yet to appear; and I am confident that Mr. Dix would welcome information as to rare Dublin-printed books of this period. May I express the hope that he will "advance backwards" (*more Hibernico*)—amplifying his pamphlet of 1901, entitled "Earliest Dublin Printing"—and also forwards, so that his work may begin at the beginning, and continue at least to 1725? I observe that Mr. Dix is announced to read before the Bibliographical Society in London, on the Eve of St. Patrick's Day, a Paper on "Early Dublin Printers and the London Stationers' Company."

The Papal Archives at Rome contain a vast mass of documents relating to mediæval ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland. Bishop Donnelly, one of our Vice-Presidents, gave us a welcome specimen; and the late Dr. Maziere Brady published much relating to Episcopal appointments from this source. It has remained, however, for the Rev. Father Costello, as the result of many years of research in Rome relating to the *Annata*, or first fruits payable on the appointments of Ecclesiastics, to place within our reach a series of Latin documents of venerable antiquity, ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. These are now being printed at Dundalk, under the care of the Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P., with copious annotations; and the first portion, including the Diocese of



Armagh, is completed, but not yet issued. The names of places and persons appear in unfamiliar forms, occasionally showing traces of variation, attributable to the language and the country they originated in. Help is needed for the identification of these names; and if any of our antiquaries, skilled in the mediæval nomenclature of Irish dioceses and districts, is willing to assist in supplying explanatory notes, he would do well to communicate with Father Coleman.

Hall-marks on plate, and especially the date-letters used by the makers to perpetuate, while concealing, a knowledge of the age of the pieces of silver or gold on which they are stamped, have engaged the attention of English antiquaries at least from the time of Mr. Octavius Morgan. They have extended their attention to the hall-marks used by the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin, since its incorporation in 1637; but the lists hitherto published have either been misleading or defective. Though the well-known books of Chaffers and Cripps have passed through several editions, we have as yet no satisfactory account of the Dublin hall-marks; and though Cork antiquaries interested themselves in trying to fix the date of silver manufactured in the South of Ireland, the absence of date-letters outside of Dublin made their task difficult. I have myself long worked at Irish hall-marks, and collected materials towards a book on the subject. But the task has recently been taken up by a gentleman of more energy, Mr. C. J. Jackson, F.S.A., of London, who possesses the happy skill of being able to produce accurate representations of the marks. The book which he is preparing for publication will not be limited to Ireland; but there is less uncertainty about the other hall-marks. The date-letter tables, constructed for Dublin, were usually started from a few articles of known dates, on the erroneous assumption that the alphabets used in the several cycles consisted of the same number of letters; that they proceeded uninterruptedly; and that no letter of the same alphabet was used for more than one year. The books of our Goldsmiths' Company are extremely defective, and they record only about a dozen of the years indicated by the date-letters before the last century. There are not as many silver articles in that time, the date of the actual making of which is known. This being so, the meaning of these letters can now be only determined approximately by examining pieces of plate bearing dated inscriptions, usually recording presentations. Church plate is the most helpful, because having been usually made to order, it fixed the value of the date-letter more closely than did presentation plate in general. This fact will render welcome to lovers of silver the forthcoming volume on Irish Church Plate, of which Col. Vigors, one of our Vice-Presidents, has just issued the prospectus. It is surprising how few dated pieces have been yet made available. Between 1642 and 1655, a time of unrest, only one is forthcoming. Of the alphabet in use at the time of the

Restoration, only three letters have yet been recorded as found on dated Church plate. Two of these are on Communion plate at Kells, County Meath; but, though they are *f* and *g*, coming next to each other, the inscribed dates, 1665 and 1671, differ by six years. This I mention as an example of the difficulty of fixing the date of making. From 1685 to 1692 no Dublin date-letter has been identified. In the next cycle some letters seem to have done duty for more than one year each. If any of our antiquaries will help by communicating information as to early dated examples, it will be useful and welcome.

#### THE "BOOK OF ARMAGH."

While referring to new books about to be published, I should turn for a moment to a Book in Manuscript, which is probably the oldest connected with Ireland, and the publication of which has long been anxiously awaited. I refer to the famous and venerable "Book of Armagh." That great antiquary, Bishop Reeves, was instrumental in securing it a permanent and suitable resting-place; and the munificence of Primate Lord John George Beresford provided for its publication. This was undertaken by the Royal Irish Academy, who entrusted the work to the Rev. Professor Gwynn, who will doubtless do it justice. The text of the book, consisting chiefly of the Gospels in Latin, is printed in ordinary type. Dr. Reeves, who hoped to edit the precious MS. himself, prepared a large collection of illustrative matter for the purpose. He published a short memoir of it in 1861, which has been at least twice reprinted; and, just thirty years later, it was the subject of the last but one of the many Papers he read before the Royal Irish Academy. It is now nearly ten years since the issue of the book was announced as imminent. Perhaps you may see it before you have to elect my successor as President.

#### THE SOCIETY AND ITS ROLL.

I must not conclude without referring to the state of our Society. Several Presidential Addresses and Annual Reports to kindred societies are mainly composed of obituary notices of their members whom death recently removed. I would willingly dilate on the loss we have sustained by the death of Mr. Cooke-Trench, one of our Vice-Presidents, though his work lay more with the Kildare Archæological Society. For that body he unravelled the intricacies of the interlacing work, which used to be considered to belong especially to Irish Art, but which Italy now claims—perhaps only as deriving it from us. His love of research also showed itself in his History of the Trench Family, which is a model for the genealogist. He had the rare advantage of being able to trace all persons of his name to one ancestor, whose name, Le Tranche, originally derived from France, on his migration hither took the form now familiar in Ireland.

But I must leave to others such Memorials of the Dead, and notice the present state of our Society's Roll. When His Majesty the King was lately petitioned to assume the office of Patron, he was told that the Society was supposed to be the largest of its kind in his kingdom. I was justly proud when the prospect of being made President of such a body was placed before me. But, long accustomed to "verify quotations," I resolved to inquire how the roll of similar societies figured, and here is the result:—The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland at the close of 1900, after a net loss of 23 in the year, numbered 687. The great Society of Antiquaries of London, in 1899, after a less loss, numbered 750; so that there is not such disparity as might be expected between the antiquarian zeal of North and South Britain.

The Royal Irish Academy, according to the numerical summary appended to its List of Members in 1902, was reduced to 255 members (besides 63 Honorary), and of these, Science would probably claim half as exclusively its own.

The number on our roll, as to-day reported, is 1248, so that our Society in membership nearly equals those of the English and Scottish Societies combined. If the roll of the Academy be added to ours, Ireland, comparatively small and poor, shows a larger number of persons devoted to the study of antiquities than does the Britain styled Great.

As regards the larger and better portion of the human race, the disparity is even more in our favour. The Scottish Antiquaries recognize women's rights (or claims) so far as to admit gratuitously to a separate class, styled "Lady Associates" (not Fellows), a chosen few "who have done valuable work in the field of Archæology," but "according to the laws their number is limited to 25." The London Society has, I believe, no such law for ladies, and no lady Fellows or Associates. The Royal Irish Academy has, in over a century, numbered on its roll two only, I believe. We have no law or limitation such as Scotland interposes. All are welcome with us, and I rejoice to notice on our long list of communications for to-night that a Paper by a lady heads that list.

And not only has this Irish brotherhood and sisterhood of ours itself flourished and grown, but its influence and training have led to the establishment of similar local societies; and besides welcoming from Cork and Belfast the admirable archæological journals which they have long issued, we greet the publications of the younger provincial Societies of Kildare, Waterford, Galway, and, I may add, Limerick.



Numbers alone, however, could not ensure success ; but they have helped to secure to this Society some measure of financial prosperity, and that, in turn, has tended to make its publications worthy of our Society.

If, as in the case of the kindred societies which, thanks to the bounty of the State, acquiesce in a plan supposed to be peculiar to Ireland, and "pay no rent," we could be relieved by a paternal Government from that somewhat antiquated obligation, our Society might become more firmly rooted in and racy of the soil, our meetings would be in more inviting and inspiring surroundings, and our Society would be better able to promote in Ireland those branches of learning which for over half a century it has cultivated so zealously, and, as a last word, I venture to add, successfully.

NOTES ON ASKEATON, COUNTY LIMERICK.

PART I.—THE HISTORY, A.D. 900 TO 1579.

BY THOMAS J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

[Read JULY 1, 1901, and OCTOBER 28, 1902.]

ASKEATON, an ancient village and former parliamentary borough on the river Deel, possesses a castle, church, and Franciscan friary, which form a most interesting group of ruins only inferior to Adare and Kilmallock, in the same county. The site is, however, lacking in the



Askeaton, from the Franciscan Convent.

beautiful surroundings of the last-named places. The modern (and in many cases half-ruinous and poor) houses of the village close round the castle, and appear in nearly every distant view of the friary, while ugly quays with no shipping, and flat country with only low and distant hills, take the place of the reed- and bush-shaded Lubagh and Maigue

and the piled masses of the Galtees behind Kilmallock. Coming to Askeaton from the railway station, through a flat and unpicturesque though wooded country, with only the broken keep of the castle to show that we are approaching any place of ancient note, the first impression is one of disappointment. It is not till we drop abruptly from the table-land to the bridge over the shallows of the Deel that we see to any advantage the towering and picturesque ruins of the fortress in its river gorge, and, on the other side, the confused mass of ivied gables and shafted windows of the Franciscans' ancient house.

No detailed description of these fine ruins has been published, nor has any proper plan or illustration of them appeared. Grose<sup>1</sup> gives a very inadequate and incorrect view of the castle, dated 1792, over the name of Rockbarton Castle, which proves to be Rockbarkeley or Askeaton. O'Callaghan Newenham, in a style of picturesque inaccuracy (surpassing even Bartlett), depicts the friary. Of the quaint but instructive old view in "*Pacata Hibernia*" we shall have more to say. The best account hitherto published is that by the Rev. James Dowd;<sup>2</sup> but from the scope of his very interesting book, "*Round About the County Limerick*," the description is brief and untechnical. Some architectural notes on the friary and castle have also appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1864.<sup>3</sup>

In the face of all this, we may be forgiven for striving to deal more fully with this place and its history, trying to fill up a gap no less in the history of the lesser Irish towns than in our monastic literature, and to lay up material for some future author who may compile an Irish Monasticon more worthy of the abbey-abounding Isle of Saints.

#### THE NAMES OF ASKEATON AND INISKEEFTY.

Askeaton most probably derives its name, Eas Gephthine—Gephten's Cascade—from an ancient though obscure tribe, the Gebtini,<sup>4</sup> who held in pre-Christian times<sup>5</sup> the western section of the present county of Limerick,<sup>6</sup> and shared the district with the more important and far-reaching tribes of Ua Cathbar and Ua Corra.

Older legend tells of Gared, one of the chieftains who commanded under Finn Mac Coul at the battle of Cnamross, and how he dwelt at Eas Gephthine; later antiquaries tell of a lady, or chieftain, Gephthine, or Gepten, or, with perfervid fancy in derivation, evolve the name

<sup>1</sup> "*Antiquities of Ireland*," vol. i., plate xxx., p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> "*Round About the County Limerick*" (1896), p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Part 2, pp. 542, 544.

<sup>4</sup> See valuable Paper, by Mr. H. T. Knox, in *Journal*, vol. xxx. (1900), p. 344, with map based on M'Firbis.

<sup>5</sup> O'Donovan, in Ordnance Survey Letters, R.I.A. MSS., 14, E. 9, p. 453. Eas geptine, Gepten, a man's name "in pagan times." In this and the following notes, C. S. P. I. indicates the "*Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland*"; L. M. H., "*Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ*"; R. I. A., Royal Irish Academy.

<sup>6</sup> Borlase's "*Dolmens of Ireland*," vol. iii., p. 876.



"Eas caed tinne," from the "hundred fires" lighted in honour of Baal. Few things are more dangerous to true archæology than false etymology derived from revising local names into supposed Irish equivalents when unchecked by ancient records.

We have seen that the basis of the name was Gebten; but in the records from 1200 to 1450 a variant to Eas Gebthine appears, and was almost exclusively used among the clergy and the English. It appears in various forms; but was evidently Iniskefty, *i.e.* Inis Geibhthine. It occurs in such strange forms as Iniskefly, Iniskesty, Inisketti, Hineskefly, Hinkesti, Hinksti, Imkesti, Inikefli, Iniskyfly, Inknesci, Jyskefty, and Imkefti. It gets into forms so dangerously like Iniscatti, Inisketty, and Iniscathaig that I have in some cases refrained from using records with the less usual spellings, lest they should not refer to Askeaton, unless where the internal evidence decided the question. These vague spellings, and the appearance of "Asketon" castle in the early records, led me into the belief that Askeaton and Iniskefty were different places. I also supposed that some of the entries related to Iniscathaig, and these mistakes I take this opportunity of noticing and correcting.<sup>1</sup> No previous writer has<sup>2</sup> given any proof for the identification; so until I was satisfied by the "Rental of O'Connyll" that Iniskefty was actually Askeaton, I feared to use any of the Iniskefty records. From other documents it appears that Asketon (or rather Asketon) was Escloon or Eschluana, a castle, church, cantred and parish in the deanery of Limerick, probably near Carrigogunnell, but not Kilkeedy.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly we may dismiss the Asketon entries, and confine ourselves to Iniskefty and Askeaton. The intermediate form, "Yneskitun," is used in the "Valor Beneficiorum" in 1539.<sup>4</sup> It is impossible to suppose that Iniskefty is a corruption of Eas Geibhthine; it is much more probable that both prefixes to the name Gebhthine existed in Irish, representing the island and the waterfall of the Deel, and thence the castle on that island.<sup>5</sup>

#### EARLY HISTORY, A.D. 900 TO 1383.

The fort of Geibhthine was reserved to the kings of Cashel in the "Book of Rights," at any rate before A.D. 900, if not in the fifth

<sup>1</sup> I may give as corrigenda to my former Papers references to mistakes as to Iniskefty, or Inisketty, in our *Journal*, vol. xxvii. (1897), p. 279, note 5, and vol. xxiv. (1894), p. 335; also to *Proc. R.I.A.*, Ser. III., vol. vi., p. 112. As an Appendix to this Paper shows, the fact of the early annexation of Iniscathaig by the See of Limerick rests on a mass of evidence untouched by these errors.

<sup>2</sup> As in Bishop Reeves's Manuscripts, T.C.D., and "Round About the County Limerick," p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop O'Dea's "Taxa. Procuratum," 1418, gives "Eschluana, *alias* Kylkyde," next Mungret, but the older records, the Taxation of 1291, &c., give these churches as in separate parishes.

<sup>4</sup> MS. T.C.D., E. 13, 15, No. 632.

<sup>5</sup> The Inquisition of the estates of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, September 11, xxvi. Eliz., includes the castle of Inniskesty, in the 'service' of Asketten.

century.<sup>1</sup> We hear nothing more of the place till, in 1199, the "Annals of Inisfallen"<sup>2</sup> record the building of the castle of "Eas Gephthine." There was "great abundance of fruit in Desmond" that year, which probably extended to other neighbouring districts, and favoured the foundation. The founder is not mentioned, but (as we shall see) was most likely William de Burgo. King John, of England, on October 18th, 1203, notified to his Irish Government that William de Burgo had paid for the livery of the castles of Kilfeakle and Hineskefti, and



Askeaton Castle, from the south-west.

that he retained de Burgo's sons as hostages till the justiciary, Meyler fitz Henry, came to the king at Caen.<sup>3</sup> In the same year the king restored to Hamon fitz Hamon de Valoignes the castle of Hineskesty, or Hinckesty, which belonged to said Hamon by inheritance, he having paid 50 marks for it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Book of Rights" (ed. O'Donovan), pp. 89, 91*n*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. T.C.D. i. i. 19. Ware, in his "Annals," 1198, says :—"The English built . . . another (castle) the next year at Astretin, by the river Delvin," *sic*.

<sup>3</sup> Calendar, Patent Rolls, John, An. xvii. ; "Liber Munerum Pub. Hib." vol. i., p. 30 ; Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1171-1251, No. 593.

<sup>4</sup> Fine Rolls, John, xvii. and xviii., m. 8 ; Patent Rolls same years, No. 593, grant of castle of Hineskefti.



It next appears as having a church dedicated to St. Mary. Through some unexplained favour of the ruling powers to the Augustinian abbey of Keynsham, in Somerset,<sup>1</sup> a number of the Limerick churches had been granted to that monastery. Hubert de Burgo, Bishop of Limerick in 1237, had the ability to procure the restitution of most of them from John de Bineford, Canon of Keynsham, proctor for the abbot and convent. They were Rathgel (Rathkeale), Rathfergus (Kilfergus), Mayntaueney (Moy Tawnagh, or Mahoonagh), Mayryne (Kiltennan), Browry (Bruree), Culballysiward (probably Howardstown), Karracnesy (Caherhenesy, Rathkeale), Mayne, Moymoleally, Orosse (Iveruss), and Doundouenolde.<sup>2</sup> The church of Iniskeffy seems to have been also given to Keynsham; but the transaction, save as to the grant, is not very clearly stated. The bishop granted "Iniskeffy," with the consent of its chapter, to the church of St. Mary of Keynsham, in England, and to the abbot and convent of that place. One-third of its income was reserved to the vicar of Iniskeffy, Thomas de Cardiff, a canon of England.<sup>3</sup> This grant was unrepealed; for in the great Desmond Roll, an Elizabethan survey of county Limerick, by Christopher Peyton in 1584, "the rectory of Askeaton church was inappropriate to the Crown in right of the dissolved abbey of Kensam."<sup>4</sup>

The grant, however, led to litigation; for in 1268 we find that Walter de Lacton and Gunnora, his wife, were plaintiffs in an action against the abbot of "Keyneresham." The plaintiffs claimed 10 marks off Oross, and other matters, "out of the inheritance of the said Gunnora, held by the king in capite," and "another writ against the abbot concerning the advowson of the churches of Ineskeffy and Kilculgin."<sup>5</sup> In 1289 an Inquisition was taken, which found that Hamo de Valenges, former lord of "Iniskyfty," enfeoffed the predecessor of John (de Sanford), Archbishop of Dublin, of one knight's fee in Culballysiward, in pure and perpetual alms, along with a certain tenement in Browry. The original charter was evidently lost; for in the "Registry of the Archbishops of Dublin" there is no older document than the grant of the whole tenement of Culballisiward, in County Limerick, from Alexander

<sup>1</sup> Keynsham was a foundation of William, Earl of Gloucester, in 1170, and of Gilbert De Clare, a later earl. Had the connexion of either the De Clares or Berkeleys with Askeaton or Limerick been of earlier date, the grants of the Irish benefices to Keynsham would be less problematical. Hamo de Valoniis was, however, connected with it. Dugdale's "Monasticon Anglicanum," ed. 1830, vol. vi., Part i., page 451. "History of Somerset," by the Rev. J. Collinson, vol. ii., p. 402.

<sup>2</sup> "Black Book of Limerick," No. LI., p. 75. Culballysiward seems to have been Cooleen and Howardstown; but there was another Ballysyward, or Ballyhoward, at Adamstown, some miles to the east.

<sup>3</sup> A Richard de Kaerdiff was living at Keynsham at the same time. Dugdale, as above, p. 453.

<sup>4</sup> Desmond Roll, Record Office, Dublin; also an Inquisition on possessions of late Abbey of Keynsham, 1542 (C. S. P. I., p. 62).

<sup>5</sup> Plea Roll (Ireland), 53 H. III., mem. 8, f. (Cal., vol. i., p. 32).



Anno, son of Godfrey de Anno, to John de Sandford, Archbishop of Dublin, along with the homage of the grantor's nephew John, on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, 1284.<sup>1</sup>

Among the lists of "capitula" (an equivalent, it should appear, to later parochial administrations), and the coroners' districts in Limerick under Edward I., Iniskefty appears. For example, we find—"For the Crown—Inskyfty and Rathgele—Villata de Coulbalysyward—John Dondon tried for their neglect.<sup>2</sup> The bridges of Coulbalysyward and Cloncullig were broken (as was alleged). The jury find that the said John does not hold and repair the bridge of Cloncullig, and that the bridge of Coulbalysyward is made up, so that men, horses, and wagons (carruce) are able to cross." An interesting side-light on the maintenance of public works under the great Prince in 1290.<sup>3</sup>

Iniskefty is next stated to have passed to the ill-starred Thomas de Clare and his wife, Juliana, daughter of Maurice FitzMaurice, Lord of Offaley, before 1287,<sup>4</sup> and particulars are given as to the house of Desmond succeeding to that of Offaley. This is not borne out by the elaborate Inquisitions on the death of Thomas de Clare, 1287. However, we find a grant of Edward II., 1318, to Robert de Welle and his wife Matilda (sister of Richard de Clare, who that year had fallen at Dysertodea) of the castle, manor and barony of Imkifty or Inikefty, valued at £14 1s. 1½d. They also claimed the advowsons of the churches of Inikifty and of Bunratty and Quin, in Tomond, in 1322.<sup>5</sup>

In 1314 (8 Edward II.) a lawsuit was tried at Limerick. The plaintiff Isabella, widow of Gilbert de Clare, proceeded against Robert de Wall on a plea of account for the time when he was Gilbert's baillif in the manors of Yoghell, Inchecoyn, Candlestown, Any, Iniskyfty, Mountauenach, Bonrat, and Ardrayn.<sup>6</sup> So it is evident that, if not Thomas de Clare, at least his sons Gilbert and Richard held the Manor at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

To go back for a few years, King Edward I. in 1300 asked for an aid from the towns of Ireland for his war with Scotland. The entry gives

<sup>1</sup> Plea Roll, xviii. Ed. I., mem. 10 (Cal., vol. i., p. 50), and "Liber Niger Alani" (Reeves's MSS. T.C.D., 1061), vol. ii., p. 828. Dr. Stokes gives a note, but a very inaccurate one, on this deed in the *Journal*, vol. xxvii. (1897), p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> This old family, not unrepresented among the present inhabitants of Limerick, appears from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries as landowners at Ballysiward.

<sup>3</sup> Plea Roll, xviii. Ed. I., m. 44 (Cal., vol. i., p. 140). The other "chapters" given are Ardach, Othenach, Esclon, Iolegar (Iuregar), Browry, Fontymchil (Fontemel), and Cromyth (Croom). The Pipe Rolls give the "Villatæ" as Adar, Rathgel, Inskyfti, Ardagh, Cromech, Kilmehallock, Dermochy, Natherlagh, Any, Grene, and Karkinl(iss), 1303.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal*, vol. ix. (1867), p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Cal. Close Rolls, 1322, p. 440. Matilda, sister and heir of R. de Clare, claims the advowsons of Bonrat, Conighy, and Inskifty. See also Grossi Fines, 1321. Matilda holding "Castrum de Bonrath, Coinguy de Totomon, cast. man. et baroniam de Inskisty, castrum de Corkemoyth, cus. de Any," &c.

<sup>6</sup> Plea Roll, No. 109, viii. Edward II., mem. 40 (Cal., vol. iv., p. 19).

the names and assessments of each of the Irish towns, and is an invaluable record of their standing and wealth. Insketty is assessed at 40s., and is evidently a town of the standing of "Athdare," "Rathgel," and "Cromoth," its sister towns in County Limerick.<sup>1</sup>

If the "Dictionary" of Lewis can be trusted, there was a preceptory of the Knights of the Temple at Iniskeffy, and they built the church, part of whose ruins still stand, in 1291. This derives some support from the Civil Survey of 1655, which mentions "one garden, hospital land surrounded by the lands of Asketten," as being in the town. It is probable that here, as in so many other cases, the hospitallers succeeded to the possessions of the suppressed Templars.<sup>2</sup> The Church appears in the Papal Taxation of 1302 to 1306 as Ynyskyfty, and is valued at 16 marks, and its vicarage at 8 marks.<sup>3</sup>

The invasion of Bruce gave the English Government a deadly blow, and its elaborate organization nearly collapsed. The notices in the Plea Rolls and other records get fewer and of less interest. We learn from a group of pardons in 1346 that among the families residing in "Ineskyfty" that year were those of Albus (White), Bethegan, Catewoly, Cissor, FitzDavid, Germye, Harold, Nasshe, O'Calan, Pronce, Playfort, and Rus.<sup>4</sup>

Two years later the place appears as held by that most ill-starred family, the Lords of Desmond, who left the mark of their power, wealth, and liberality on the buildings, still beautiful in their ruin among the crowded houses of the modern village. On June 20th, 1348, the Escheator notifies to the King "that he has learned by Inquisition that Maurice Fitzmaurice, late Earl (Comes) of Dessemond, held," among numerous other possessions, "the manor of Iyskifti" by service, and 40s., along with the manor of Glynnogre.<sup>5</sup> The Barony, as already stated, formed a cantred; so late as 1358 we find the cantreds of County Limerick named as Inyskysty, Ocarbri, Adare, Cromyth, Any, Grene, Ardagh, Fontymshyll, Esclon, and Wethney, or Oghney.<sup>6</sup>

About 1367 John Maltravers, junior, held the manors of Rathgell and Inskyfty, in County Limerick, in Ireland,<sup>7</sup> but thenceforth the name of Desmond stands almost alone in the Annals of Askeaton for two centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Plea Roll (Ireland), xxvii. Ed. I., mem. 2. Mr. James Mills, the Deputy Keeper of the Records of Ireland, most kindly called my attention to this important document.

<sup>2</sup> "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland" (Lewis), vol. i., p. 81; and "Civil Survey," 1655, pp. 66, 67 (Record Office).

<sup>3</sup> C. S. P. I., 1302, from Exchequer Rolls.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls, xx. Ed. II. "Catewoly" is the Welsh family of Cadewalla, or Cadwelly, frequently mentioned in Plea Rolls.

<sup>5</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls, An. xxii. Ed. III., p. 72, No. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* xx., Ed. III., No. 44, and An. xxxii., No. 101, p. 72, Nos. 2-10.

<sup>7</sup> Calendar Inquis. *post mort.*, 1367 and 1375, pp. 284, 352.

In 1383, Philip de Courtenay held a meeting at Kilmehallock to consult as to payments of scutage, &c. This was necessitated by the wars raised in Munster. At this meeting 40*s.* was paid by the Earl of Desmond for the Barony of Incheskyn, in County Limerick.<sup>1</sup>

THE FRANCISCAN FRIARY, 1389–1420.

One of the Earls of Desmond, according to Wadding,<sup>2</sup> founded the Friary of Franciscan monks in 1389. The founder was probably Gerald, "the poet," the fourth Earl of Desmond, Lord Justice of Ireland, of whom tradition<sup>3</sup> asserts that he mysteriously disappeared into the



Askeaton—Franciscan Convent (Chancel).

enchanted waters of Lough Gur to re-appear once in seven years, and ride over its waters till the silver shoes of his horse were worn out. Our Annals only know of his penitent death after receiving the Sacraments. The Four Masters and Ware, on the other hand, place the date of the foundation in 1420, James, the 7th Earl of Desmond, being then in

<sup>1</sup> Remembrance Rolls, vii. Ric. II., m. 42, *facie*.

<sup>2</sup> "Annales Minorum," xv., pp. xviii, 145.

<sup>3</sup> Also told as of Gerald, the "rebel Earl."



power.<sup>1</sup> Father Hugh Ward, writing about 1630, says: "The founder of the convent was 'D.' Earl of Desmond, who erected there a tomb for himself and his family, as also did 'D.' Macnamara of Tomond, and many others of both families."<sup>2</sup>

Wadding adheres to the earlier date in another passage of his works: "1389, conventus de Athskettin dictus . . . per hæc tempora constructus, ferunt a quodam comite Desmonie." He then relates its ruin by the English, under Malbie, in 1581 (*recte* 1579). Allemand (or more probably his printer) reproduced this date as 1481, misleading Archdall, Lenihan, and the later writers. The Four Masters record how, in 1420, "The monastery of the Franciscans at Easgephatine, in Munster, on the bank of the Shannon (Deel), was founded for Franciscan Friars by the Earl of Desmond, who erected a tomb in it for himself and his descendants." The Earl was, however, buried far from Askeaton, at Youghal.

It is possible, despite the indecision and "ferunt" of Wadding, that 1389 may represent the foundation, and 1420 the completion, or, as in so many cases (*e.g.* Quin, 1433), an addition, though many features suggest a date nearer the time of Earl James' death (1459) than 1420, much less 1389. Indeed, it was about 1460 that Terence (Torlough), the MacMahon of Corcovaskin, the husband of More Ine Brien (whose fine monument remains at Ennis), "made another tomb for himself and his family in the convent of the minorites at Askeaton."<sup>3</sup>

To supplement the brevity and want of detail of these records, we may here record the possessions of the convent in 1586 as given by Peyton: "Scitus dom. relig. in Asketten vocat' the Begginge ffryers." It was built near the river Deelee (which flows into the Shannon), and contained certain buildings and half an acre. . . The field called "Clone numrare, also called the ffryers' lande" . . . to the north of the Abbey. . . One water-mill called "Mollin begg," within the town . . . near the mill of the Earl of Desmond. A weare commonly called "a ffysshing weare," also called "Corra numrar," *alias* "the ffryers weare." . . . There pertained to the same religious house . . . tythe of the fysh called tythe ffysche from one of the weares in Asketten, called "Corren Erle," "the Erles weare" which was built near the bridge, . . . namely, the fishes taken in the Tides on one day and two nights in each week, . . . namely, between

<sup>1</sup> "Annals of the Four Masters," 1420.

<sup>2</sup> "Brevis Synopsis Provinciæ Hiberniæ" (F. Hugo Ward). A translation has been published by Dr. Mullock, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Newfoundland, in *Duffy's Catholic Magazine*. I must here thank the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly, Librarian of the Franciscan Convent, Dublin, for his kind trouble in copying for me, at the suggestion of Mr. M. M'Enery, of the Record Office, this and other still more important notes from unpublished manuscripts in his custody. Ward is mistaken as to Macnamara. Bruodin has Mac Mahon of Corcovaskin, whose wife made the beautiful "Mac Mahon" monument, now partly rebuilt into the Creagh tomb in Ennis Friary. To this the broken tomb in Askeaton Friary bears a very marked resemblance.

<sup>3</sup> "Annales Minorum" (Luke Wadding), vol. viii., pp. 46-47. For the Ennis tomb, see *Journal*, vol. xxv. (1895), pp. 145, 150.

12 o'clock on Saturday and 6 or 7 o'clock on Monday."<sup>1</sup> Then for several generations the convent and its inmates sink into obscurity; doubtless the feet of the monks kept to the paths of peace and silence, and events bore out the trite proverb, "Happy the place that has no history." It was reformed to the strict observance in 1497, and was given over to the Observantines by the Provincial, Father Patrick Healy, in 1513.<sup>2</sup>

ASKEATON, 1440-1550.

The records almost cease during the remainder of the fifteenth century, save some entries relating to the Abbey and to the successive



Askeaton—Franciscan Convent (north-east angle of Cloister).

Earls of Desmond. This is the more to be regretted from the fact that many of the most beautiful details of the monastery and the Banqueting Hall of the Castle date from the period.

The noteworthy "Rental of O'Connolly" in the Exchequer collection,

<sup>1</sup> "Survey of Escheated Estates in County Limerick," by Christopher Peyton and other Commissioners, 1586, Record Office, Dublin, pp. 198, 262, and 263.

<sup>2</sup> Wadding's "Annales," xv., xxviii., p. 145, and Ward's "Brevis Synopsis." As Father Patrick Healy was Provincial from 1497 to 1500, and Father Philip O'Meagher held office in 1513, Ward, despite the divergent date, thus bears out that given by Wadding.



1452, is the chief authority for the Desmond estates in the century. It gives the lands and their valuations, with the royalties and sergeantries, the mills, and free tenants on the Desmonds' Manors of Shaned, Killyde (Killeedy), Corkothe, Bathyn, Rathgalway, Moytawnagh (Mahoonagh), Innyskefty and Offargus. (Appendix B, at end of Paper.)

The rental was probably taken by the Crown during a minority or temporary seizure of the lands. There is no mention of the castle, though the castles of "Robert Dondwnull vocata haroldes castell" and "Castro Robti Goer vocat" (blank) are mentioned on other manors. If silence proves anything, we might suppose that the castle of 1199 had perished, and that the present castle, as tradition said (when the Ordnance Survey letters were written in 1840) was only built by Gerald, the 7th Earl of Desmond, who died in 1459.<sup>1</sup> At least the tradition falls in with many of the details of the building, and the apparently older portions (at least) are not inconsistent with an extensive rebuilding.

In 1541 a meeting was held in the Chapter House of the convent before Maurice Maddy, Official General of the diocese, and Hugh Lees, in presence of John, Bishop of Limerick, at which John, son of Thomas, son of Philip, Knight of the Valley, acknowledged an obligation to the Bishop of 5 marks, in usual English money, out of Cappagh Kilm'lwony.<sup>2</sup> This must have been soon followed by the Dissolution.

#### THE CLOSING YEARS OF DESMOND RULE, 1557-1575.

As the Earls of Desmond were all-powerful in their own domain, it is not surprising that the convent survived the dissolution for many years. In 1558 James, the 14th Earl of Desmond, and in 1564, Joan, Countess of Ormond (wife of James Butler, the 9th Earl), were buried within its walls.<sup>3</sup> The Countess was the only daughter of James, the 11th Earl of Desmond. "During the time" of the 14th Earl "it was not found necessary to infold cattle or to close the door in all Munster." Alas! other records show that this is a pretty fiction, like the jewelled lady of King Brian's day, and other personages of the Golden Age yearned after but never seen.<sup>4</sup> The year 1564 also saw a chapter of the order held in the monastery.

There remains one tragic story of the monks before that terrible day when Malbie destroyed their convent under the eyes of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, safe in his stronghold up the river, but unable to beat off the invincible heretics of the "Red Queen." If Russell, the author of the curious "History of the Fitzgeralds," can be trusted in this tale (though he differs elsewhere from the Four Masters and the State Papers as to the

<sup>1</sup> Ordnance Survey Letters, R.I.A. MSS. 14. E. 9, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> "Black Book of Limerick," p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> "Annals of the Four Masters," 1558 and 1564.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1558.



slaying of Earl Gerald and other matters, and wrote nearly a century later), the neglect of Earl Gerald to punish a crime led to his own death at the hands of the murderer's sons. The story gets a strange side-light from another tale "heard truly" by Sir Henry Sidney, how the same Earl of Desmond countenanced "a principal servant of his" after a still more revolting, inhuman, and above measure detestable crime.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, conceivable that the weak earl, under the influence of his strong-minded and not very scrupulous wife,<sup>2</sup> may well have condoned the crime of a favourite and (then the most powerful of ties in Ireland) a fosterer. In any case it will bear repeating as part of the great latter-day "saga of Gerald the Earl" worthy of a place with the lays of Deirdre and the other "sorrows of story-telling" in Ireland:—

"Garrett (fitz James, the 15th Earl of Desmond) was betrayed by his own fosterers, who, with their own hands, did cut off his head in Gluneginhagh, in the County of Kerry.' So powerful were the 'murderers, that Fitzmaurice, Lord Kerry, could get no man to execute the chief actor, who first laid hands on the Earle, and, being before the gallows, he was forced to put the halter about his neck with his owne hands. It was surely the judgment of God fell out upon this great person, for the very father of these murderers, being overseer of the Earle's lands about Athskeaton, was wont to distrain two or three cowes, which the Poor fryers had thereabout in a little pasture belonging to their Abbey, which cowes, chancing to goe out of it, were by this man detained from them until they should pay treble trespass. This fellowes cattle, I say, chanced to goe into the said fryers' little pasture, and were by the fryers also impounded, they (poore souls!) thinking noe other harme but something to allay the man's fury, always bent against them. This man haveing notice hereof came to the Abbey door and there knocked, whereupon one of the Fryers came forth and saluted him according to their wonted manner, which was noe satisfaction to him, but called for the father Guardian, who likewise came, and with a religious, grave countenance, saluted him. There was no further discourse, but he, asking the guardian how durst he presume the boldness as to impound his cattle, he being the Earle's fosterer, and with him in great estimation? He expected [awaited] noe answer, but presently [at once] draweing out his long skeane, stabbed the good prelate to the heart: whereupon the fellow betooke himself to flight; thinking by long running to procure his pardon from the Earle. . . . Not long after this man's wife goes to the Countesse of Desmond with a present of a whole cupboard's furniture of plate, and with many other fine and gay things, begging her Ladyship, with weeping eyes, that she would mitigate the Earle's fury against her husband, but, to be short, the mild Earle being of merciful and generous disposition, pardoned at last this wicked malefactor, whose sons, as I sayd, brought him to his ruine.'"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter of 20th April, 1567, "Hamilton Calendar," p. 330; "Carew Calendar," vol. iii., p. lviii; Richey's "Short History," p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Eleanor, Countess of Desmond, the second wife of Gerald. See accounts of her interviews with her husband's enemies, and of her securing a pension and her own interests while he was a fugitive. She was daughter of Edmond Butler, Baron of Dunboyne, and married, secondly, Donogh, the O'Connor Sligo. Her will, September 6th, 1636, was proved at Dublin, and her well-preserved effigy remains in the chancel of Sligo Friary.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, (vol. x. (1868-9), pp. 466-7).

## ASKEATON ON THE EVE OF DESMOND'S REBELLION.

It is a difficult task to restrain oneself from telling once more the story of that awful desolation which swept over a whole province, and confine oneself to the vicissitudes of one little fortress. The waves of destruction swept again and again over the ill-destined lands of the Earl of Desmond and his adherents till, in the fearful words of a recent historian, "the victory was terribly purchased. The entire province of Munster was utterly depopulated. Hecatombs of helpless creatures—the aged, the sick, the blind, the young mother, and the babe at the breast, had fallen under the English sword; and though the authentic details of the struggle have been forgotten, the memory of a vague horror remains imprinted on the national traditions." "They killed the feeble men, women, boys and girls, sick people, idiots, and old people," say the Four Masters; and the English despatches abound in similar horrors, and more than support the Irish accounts. The far less deadly and cruel Cromwellian war has overlaid and obliterated the traditions of the Desmond campaign; but the record lives in countless letters and reports; and as we read these, our blood can still be stirred and our interest intensified till that dark war seems closer and more real to us than even the campaigns of our own days. To tell how Askeaton fared in that evil period, when "the gods of destruction were athirst" in Munster, is all that we can here attempt.

So early as October 18th, 1569,<sup>2</sup> we find the Government casting covetous eyes on "the Earl's house of Askeating" for the President of Munster; and its owner corresponded with Cecil about a surrender of the castle to the Crown. Desmond had at the time 160 "galliglashe," 300 kerne, and 30 horsemen, and the Government was not in a position to oust him from any of his castles by violence; but in some way the English got possession of some of them, and retained them, as he complained to the Lord Deputy on November 28th, 1573. Desmond had been under some restraint; but he got free, gathered his kerne, and this threatening portent led the Deputy to send him in great haste royal letters securing his personal liberty, and asking him to disperse his forces. Desmond might have kept himself very safe had he observed an armed neutrality and formal loyalty; but, unfortunately for himself, he tried to be "all things to all men"—unlike the apostle, to save himself. He sent his relatives letters, and betrayed some proscribed ecclesiastics to the Government, while at the same time (not so secretly as he imagined) he kept in touch with the more dangerous of the malcontents of the time—encouraging them to plot against the Crown.

In 1574 he went to Killaloe to meet with O'Brien Arra, and Clanrickard, and promised "to fortify Castlemaine and Askeaton." That

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<sup>1</sup> Froude's "History of England."

<sup>2</sup> Carew MSS., p. 392; C. S. P. I., p. 421.

same day Queen Elizabeth wrote to Lord Burleigh to complain of Desmond's "undutiful taking of Castlemaine." The Earl soon got information that he was being watched; he brought "pickaxes and tools" to Askeaton, sent a threatening letter to the sheriff of County Limerick, and a letter of injured rectitude to the Lord Deputy, complaining that the latter was bent on making war on him.<sup>1</sup>

On June 10th, 1575, Desmond wrote to Leicester "from Asketten," asking to have his castles restored. He was afraid to "come into a walled town since Kildare was committed," wrote Lord Ormonde,<sup>2</sup> "and he maketh a very strong house at Askeaton." Desmond also made an unsuccessful attempt to bring his son from Bristol to Askeaton. The Earl of Ormonde, on October 28th, visited Desmond, and attempted to arrange for the surrender of Askeaton; but, of course, in vain. Again the Government hesitated to proceed to extremities, and again the Earl got a respite to mature his plans and prepare for a struggle now scarcely avoidable.

Desmond was more or less forced into revolt by the action of his more manly relatives; they had taken up arms under Sir John of Desmond and the Papal Legate, Nicholas Saunders. They met near the noble Cistercian Abbey of Monasternenagh (which also perished in the struggle), and a bloody combat terminated in favour of Malbie and the English (October 3rd, 1579).<sup>3</sup> Desmond, wavering to the very last, watched the battle from the summit of Dromassell, or Tory Hill; his sympathy, of course, lay with his brother Sir John and his followers, but he saw the Irish, after a brave attack on Malbie and the English, checked, broken, beaten back, the Papal standard taken, and all lost; so he fled to Askeaton Castle. Malbie had written a fierce letter, bidding him not to heed Saunders, "who deceiveth with false lies"; but even yet the Earl imagined that he could prevaricate, and wrote exculpating himself and asking Malbie not to camp in the Abbey. The distracted Earl had recently met Sir William Drury at Kilmallock, and attempted to clear himself from the charges of Sir James Fitz Maurice; he now realised at last that his statements were disbelieved. He wrote, in his despair, to some unnamed member of Elizabeth's Government, enumerating his services, and telling how he had executed a bishop and two Irish soldiers, and opposed the O'Flaherties. It was all in vain, for Drury had returned "in his chariot to Waterford," and there died.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. S. P. I. (1574-1585), pp. 28, 34.

<sup>2</sup> The "Carew Papers," vol. i., page 15, show that in January, 1541, James, Earl of Desmond, renounced the right (claimed since the beheading of his grandfather at Drogheda) of exemption from appearing in Parliament, or "entering a walled town, under the King's obedience."

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, vol. xix. (1889), pp. 235, 236.

<sup>4</sup> C. S. P. I., October, 1579, various Papers, p. 189, &c.; "Annals of the Four Masters." Father Hugh Ward puts the destruction of the Abbey "in the day of persecution in 1575," Wadding in 1581; both probably trusted to memory.



## ASKEATON RAVAGED.

Malbie followed the Earl like an avenging spirit—burning, slaying, “spoiling”—he slew at the altar the monks of Monasternenagh; he burned Rathmore; he destroyed Rathkeale; and Desmond could see the smoke of his advance from the keep of Askeaton. The Earl wrote an agonised letter to his friend in the ministry—“As you are a gentleman, tell the Queen of my wrongs”; but long ere the letter could have reached the Tudor Court it was too late—Malbie was at his gates. The fierce captain and army burned the town and crops; they then “defaced and burned the Abbey”; they entered the deserted church, desecrated it, and smashed the tomb of Earl James. The monks had fled, save brother John Cornelius (or Conolly); him they “cruelly slew”; they also hanged an Irish soldier of the Earl, one Geoffrey Ferral; and (if there is no mistake in the later “Epitome,” for the original “*Annales Minorum*” are silent) hanged with his own cord another monk, William Tenal.<sup>1</sup>

While this tragedy was accomplished, the Earl was safe in his island fortress. In view of the flaming friary, he wrote a letter to Malbie, protesting against “the destruction of his tenants’ property,” but he was powerless to save, and the only notice taken by the English Captain was to press him to disseminate the English manifestoes, and to arrest Saunders and give him up to the Government. The wretched Earl wrote to another Englishman, October 7th, 1579: “Sir Nicholas Malbay camped within the Abbey of Askeaton, and there most maliciously defaced the old monuments of my ancestors, fired the Abbey, the whole town and the corn thereabouts, and ceased not to shoot at my men within Askeaton Castle.”<sup>2</sup> Malbie again, on October 8th, wrote “to the Earl or Countess, or Morice MacSheehan or the Constable of Askeaton”; but the matter was now beyond negotiation, and after a week in the blackened ruins of the convent, and a feeble attempt to take the castle, Malbie marched away. The Fitzgeralds were left to bury the slain, and probably gibbeted, body of Friar Conolly in the Chapter House,<sup>3</sup> while the refugees could steal back to the ruined town and burned cornfields, to face the anxiety and scarcity of winter.

Events came rapidly to a crisis; a vain correspondence with Pelham, Malbie, and Captain Felton closed on November 8th, 1579, by the formal proclamation of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, as a traitor. He had, they

<sup>1</sup> “*Annales Minorum*” of Wadding (ed. 1723), vol. viii., p. 87; “Epitome” of same makes Ferral a friar. Volume xx., p. 303, mentions the deaths of Conolly and Tenal. One suspects confusion between “Ferral” and “Tenal”; see also Carew MSS., 1579, p. 161. A few bosses, ribs, panels with defaced saints, and other shattered remnants of a canopied tomb remain in the Friary, and may bear the mark of the vengeance of Malbie.

<sup>2</sup> “Carew MSS., 1579, p. 160; also C. S. P. I., pp. 189, 195, and “Annals of the Four Masters.”

<sup>3</sup> “*Annales Minorum*,” *loc. cit.*

stated, "practised with foreign princes, caused murders, settled the Spaniards at Smerwick, released traitors, hanged the Queen's servitors, and his warrs in his castle of Askeaton caused the death of 2 or 3 of Her Majesty's soldiers."

They could not as yet besiege the castle of "Asketten," for they "had no victuals or other necessities, and especially because the house is circuited with a deep water and well fortified,"<sup>1</sup> while all their own artillery was "one dismounted culverin."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carew MSS., 1579, p. 165.

*(To be continued.)*

ON A DOUBLE CROSS AT DUNCRUN, COUNTY DERRY.

BY THE REV. GEO. RAPHAEL BUICK, A.M., LL.D., M.R.I.A.,  
VICE-PRESIDENT.

[Submitted MARCH 31, 1903.]

SOME time ago, being the guest of the Rev. Hugh McIntyre Butler, of Magilligan, in the County of Derry, he took two other friends and myself to see a rounded hill, almost opposite his home, known locally as the Canon-Brae.



Double Cross at Duncrun, County Derry.

The hill itself is the end of a somewhat elevated ridge, which runs parallel to the sea-coast, and occupies a position midway between the Magilligan plain and the mountain range, of which Benevenagh is the highest and most dominating point.



Here, to our surprise and pleasure, we found a large stone of trap or basalt, standing in the fence of one of the fields, with a fine double cross, in relief, upon it. The farm on which it stands belongs to Mr. A. MacDermot, of Church-hill, in the townland of Duncrun.

From beside the stone, the spectator obtains a magnificent view of both land and sea. To the west and north-west lies Lough Foyle, gleaming in the sunshine like a long river of molten silver, touched here and there with gold. Behind the Lough are the "grey mountains of dark Donegal" and the undulating high lands of fair Inishowen. At his feet spread out the low-lying lands of Magilligan, as level almost as the sea itself, from which, in comparatively recent geological times, they have emerged to be the beloved home of as thrifty and as estimable a race of men and women as can anywhere be found; while, if the observer turns northward, his eye will range, delighted, past the bold headlands of Downhill and Portrush, white at the base with breaking waves; and then, out and on, over the wide expanse of broad ocean to where, in the distance, the Paps of Jura, dimly discerned as faint blue specks, just break the outline of the far horizon to tell of land beyond, but all unseen, the "land of the mountain and the flood."

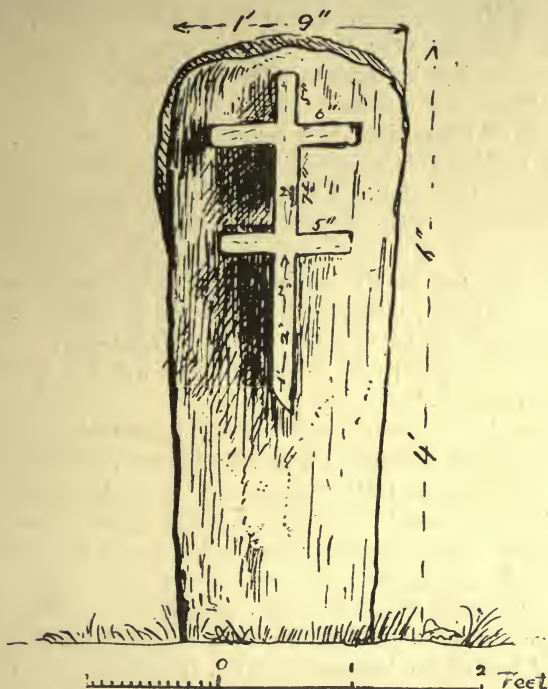
The stone must have stood where it is for many centuries. It is now the sole remaining relic of the once celebrated ancient ecclesiastical establishment which formerly occupied the neighbouring spot. As will be seen from the late Bishop Reeves' reference to it, cited below, the foundations of a small building could be traced when he paid the place a visit. Now they are all gone, and the stones used up in the neighbouring fences. Fortunately, the one bearing the cross has escaped the vandalism of the past, and remains in solitary state "to point the moral or adorn the tale." It is to be hoped that, as the years go by, those who own the farm on which it stands will see to it that no one is allowed to deface or destroy it.

The cross itself is a little over two feet two inches in length; the stem is two inches broad; the lower arms are of the same breadth as the stem; the upper ones about half an inch broader; and the whole stands out about half an inch above the surrounding surface of the stone, which has been entirely cut away to leave it in bold relief. The other dimensions can easily be made out from the sketch, drawn to scale for me by Mr. S. K. Kirker, c.e., who was one of the party on the occasion of my visit to the spot. (See page 43.)

It is an early form, though possibly not quite so early as crosses of a similar form which are incised. Mr. Wakeman, in his paper "On the earlier forms of inscribed Christian Crosses found in Ireland," *Journal R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxi. (1890-1891), page 354, writing of this particular class, says:—"Immediately adjoining St. Kieran's Monastery, on the great Island of Aran, County Galway, is a pillar-stone exhibiting a double cross. At Glendalough, County Wicklow, and on Devenish,

County Fermanagh, are double figures of the same kind, most beautifully executed. Mr. Patterson, of Belfast, in our *Journal* for January, 1883, has given an illustration of a four-armed cross slab or pillar remaining at Maghera, County Down."

This latter, which would be more correctly described as a slab, or pillar, with a four-armed cross incised upon it, "appears," says Mr. Patterson, "to be very ancient." In all probability the cross with two arms is older still; the simpler form would naturally come before the more complex. There is one with three arms on Inismurray. Why



Double Cross at Duncrun, County Derry.

there should be this variety is at present unknown. It has been surmised by some antiquaries that those which have three arms symbolized the Trinity; but as we find others with two and four arms respectively, the explanation seems defective and unreasonable.

Of the ancient Church of Duncrun, little is known historically.

The Rev. G. V. Sampson, in his "Memoir explanatory of the Chart and Survey of the County of Londonderry, Ireland," writes as follows, page 224:—"Under this title"—viz., Dunbo, the mount of the Ox—"the Monasticon Hibernicum relates that St. Patrick founded Duncruthen

(*i.e.*, the fort on the round hill) for St. Beoran. In Magilligan there is a remarkable hill of this description, and on it are found all the traces of an ancient burial-place. One part is called, to this day, the Canon bank—not, improbably, from tradition of its having been a convent of Canons Regular. There is also a traditionary recollection of a great robbery having been committed by the Danes, and of a great battle in consequence. So far, it might seem as if the convent in question had been at Duncrun, and the robbery at the same place, rather than at the present chapel; but then the Monasticon adds that it is opposite the Atlantic Ocean, and on the territory of Machare. [Does this mean Derry, formerly called Macharerabeg, or does it intend the present Maghera?] It is also mentioned as in the Barony of Coleraine. I cannot resolve this; not unlikely there has been another Duncruthan, where the ruined old Church of Dunbo now stands.”

It is not at all likely that there was anything of the kind. Sampson was led into making this supposition, because he evidently confounded Duncrun with Ballinascreen. The robbery was from the latter—not the former—as the entry of the Four Masters, under the date 1203, clearly shows:—

“Dermot, the son of Murtough O’Loughlin, went on a predatory excursion into Tyrone, and plundered Screen-Columbkille. He was encountered, however, by a party of the Kinel-Owen, who defeated Dermot and his English; and Dermot himself was killed, through the miracle of the Shrine.”

In the same Annals, under the date 1206, we are told:—“Gillapatrik O’Falaghty, Erenagh of Dun-crun, died.” O’Donovan’s note to this is as follows:—“Duncrun (Oun-Cpuiène), translated *Arx Cruthanorum* by Colgan in ‘Trias Thaum.,’ p. 181, col. 2. The name is now sometimes anglicised Dun-croon, and is a townland in the parish of Ard Magilligan, in the County of Londonderry. There was a church here, erected by St. Patrick, and a shrine finished for St. Columbkille by the celebrated brasier Conla. (See ‘Tripartite Life of St. Patrick,’ lib. 2, c. 125, and O’Donnell’s ‘Life of St. Columbkille,’ lib. 1, c. 99; see also Sampson’s ‘Memoirs of a Map of Londonderry,’ p. 487.)” This last reference, viz., page 487, is wrong, as the Very Rev. A. MacMullen, P.P., Ballymena, has taken the trouble to point out to me. It should be p. 224. There are only 359 pages altogether in the Memoir, which was published in 1814.

The Rev. Richard King, M.A., of Ramelton, has kindly sent me the following interesting account of Duncrun, taken from Archbishop Colton’s “Visitation of the Diocese of Derry”:—

Extract from the “Rentale reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini Johannis permissione divina Archiepiscopi Ardmachani, etc., etc., . . . . Decanatus de Bennagh. . . .

“ . . . . Item de tertiis episcopalibus ejusdem decanatus.”



## TEXT.

“Dunchron,<sup>1</sup> Tawlaght de ardo,<sup>m</sup> et Ballenescrine de ardo.  
 iiij. marč.”

## REEVES' NOTES.

“<sup>1</sup>Dunchron (Dun Cruithne), ‘Arx Cruthænorum’ (‘Trias Thaum.,’ p. 181 *b*, n. 187). Gillapatrik O’Falaghty was erenagh of Duncrun in 1206 (Four Masters). The ‘Tripartite Life’ ascribes the foundation of the church to St. Patrick, stating that he left Beoaidh bishop there.—ii. c. 125 (‘Trias Thaum.,’ pp. 146, 181, *b*, n. 188). The modern parish church of Magilligan is in the townland Duncrun, and at a short distance W.N.W., on the top of a hill called locally Canon’s Brae, may be traced the foundations of a small building, 35 feet by 19, inside which lies a long rude stone, having on it the figure of a cross *in relief*. The cemetery has not been used for many years, and has been partly tilled; a ditch which has been drawn across the hill divides the sites of the cemetery and the church. The spot, however, can always be identified, for it is marked on the Ordnance Survey ‘ruins of an abbey’ (London-derry S. 5).”

“<sup>m</sup>Tawlaght de Ardo. Tamlaght Ard is still the ecclesiastical name of the parish of Magilligan, and the ruins of the old church are in the townland Tamlaght, which adjoins Duncrun on the S.W. The patron saint was Cadan, or Catanus, whose tomb, nearly covered by the surrounding graves, lies close under the east gable of the old church. In the ‘Book of Leacan,’ as cited by O’Donovan, he is called *cpuim̃t̃ep* Cádán o Tamláctain Ap̃bda, ‘Priest Cadan of Tamlaght Ard’ (‘Annals of the Four Masters,’ 448). The ‘Tripartite Life’ styles him ‘Catanus Præbyter,’ and notices him as one of St. Patrick’s household.—iii. c. 98 (‘Trias Thaum.,’ p. 167*a*.) The Ordnance Survey was led into a slight mistake by the similarity of pronunciation, marking the spot as ‘Espug Aedan’s tomb,’ and the neighbouring well as ‘Tobar Easpuig Aedain (Bishop Aedan’s well’). (London-d. S. 5.) The herenagh paid 20*s*. per an. out of the Tertia. *Inq.*”

Extract from the “Tripartite Life” (p. 124):—

“Where Patrick went [next] was into Daiggurt and into Magh Dola, in Aird-Dailauig. He erected a church there—namely, Dun-Cruithne; <sup>b</sup> he left Bishop Beoaidh there, after having made friendship between him and Eugen, and [he erected also] Domhnach-airthir-Arda.<sup>c</sup>”

<sup>b</sup> Dun cruithne, now Duncroon, in Magilligan.”

<sup>c</sup> Arda, now Tamlaght-Ard.”

## ANCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL BELLS IN ULSTER.

BY SEATON F. MILLIGAN, M.R.I.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

[Read JULY 28, 1902.]

FROM the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, bells, consecrated to the service of religion, were used in the Irish Church. It is recorded in our Annals that St. Patrick had associated with him skilled artificers, amongst whom were three smiths who made bells, as well as three brasiers who made altar-cups. One of these smiths called Mac Cecht made a bell known as the Finn Faidhech. From this time, the Irish became skilled as metal-workers, many beautiful specimens of whose handiwork have survived the hands of the spoiler and the vicissitudes of time, and remain with us as examples of the work that Irishmen were capable of producing in past ages. The first bells were made of hammered sheet-iron, riveted on two sides, quadrangular in form, sloping from the base upwards to the crown, and surmounted by a handle. They were next dipped in a solution of molten bronze, which filled up all apertures and coated the bell, giving it more resonance and solidity. The quadrangular shape continued to about the twelfth century, gradually becoming more rounded at the angles, until the rotund shape was ultimately adopted. The earliest iron bells show indications that the clapper was added at a later period, and were rung by being struck, like a gong, with a hammer or small mallet. The clapper, when adopted, was found more convenient, as it left one hand free to the ringer, and soon came into universal use. Until quite recent times, some of the larger bells suspended in church-towers in various European countries were rung by being struck like a gong. A few years ago, I acquired a gong said to have been used from the seventeenth century as a church bell. It is a circular disk of metal, about 39 inches in diameter, and about 1 cwt. weight. It was suspended on an axis through a central aperture, and was rung by being struck by a mallet, which I have been informed was worked by an ordinary bell-rope. This gong is now in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy.

The Irish name for bell is *clog*, French *cloche*, which some assert is derived from the Irish, whose missionaries in the early ages brought with them, not alone their books but their bells to ancient Gaul, to be used in the service of religion. Bells were known in Italy before the introduction of Christianity, and are referred to by some of the classical writers of that country. Church bells were first made in Campania in

southern Italy in the town of Nola. The Italian for a bell is *campana*, derived from the province where they were first made. Considering the length of time that has elapsed since these Irish bells were made, it is rather remarkable how so many of them have been handed down through the intervening centuries for a thousand years and more—even from the time of St. Patrick, whose bell we still have. The explanation is, the special reverence the Irish always exhibited for such sacred relics, and the method they adopted to preserve them. The head of a special family was selected, to whom the guardianship of rare manuscripts or bells was entrusted. This was accompanied by a grant of land for maintenance. In the event of invasion or danger from fire, the first care



Bell found near Ballymena (now in Belfast Museum); iron-riveted, and partly overlaid with bronze. (Photograph by Mr. R. Welch.)

of the custodian was to safeguard the sacred object entrusted to him. This will account largely for the preservation of so many rare manuscripts, bells, and relics of various kinds. The hereditary keepers of the bell of St. Patrick, all through the ages—with the exception of a short interval—was a family called Mulholland; and for this duty, they were given a townland called Ballyclog (or the town of the bell), situated near to Stewartstown in the east of the County Tyrone.

The contributions to the pages of this *Journal* on the subject of ecclesiastical bells are not numerous. The Very Rev. Abraham Dawson, Rector of Seagoe, and Dean of Dromore, read a Paper, at a meeting of the Society at Ballymena in the year 1883, on a bell known as the



“Clog Ban.” This Paper is given in vol. xvi. (1883-4), page 126, of this *Journal*. The Clog Ban was in the possession of a family called Hennon or Henning, who lived in a cottage on the low road midway between Lurgan and Portadown. It was frequently borrowed from its hereditary keeper that it might be rung at funerals, where it was carried after the coffin and in front of the keeners, and was always, on these occasions, carried by one of the Henning family. Sometimes there was a pause in the procession whilst a service was performed in a field by the roadside, on the way to the graveyard, during which the Clog Ban was rung at intervals.

The Rev. A. Dawson says further that an intelligent woman, then in her ninety-fourth year, recollected seeing the coffin carried three times around the old church in Seagoe graveyard, and being made to touch the four corners of the church at each round, whilst the Clog Ban was rung, and the keeners chanted alternately. The very ancient custom of three rounds to the right in the direction of the sun is still practised in some remote districts of Ireland, and is a survival of sun-worship, coming down from Pagan times. If the movement was of a maledictory character, it would be a turn to the left, or in a direction opposite to the sun. The Clog Ban was occasionally borrowed to be brought to the bedside of sick persons, and placed near them, being supposed to have healing virtue. It was also used to swear people on, as it was considered the most binding oath that could be taken, and was never known to be violated. The Hennon family were not able to state clearly how or when this bell came into their possession. It was said to have been found in the year 1725, in the graveyard of Ballynaback in County Armagh. It is called Clog Ban from the colour of the metal, being a fair or light colour, as another in the parish of Moira was called the “Clog Ruadh,” or Red Bell. A bell I shall refer to later, and not hitherto described, is known as the Black Bell or Clog Dubh. The Clog Ban passed through several hands until it reached its final resting-place in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. There is an inscription in Irish on this bell in three lines, which reads, “A prayer for Cummascach MacAilell.” He was œconomist in the cathedral of Armagh; and his death is recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, in the year 904. The handle and tongue are of iron, and the body of the bell a light-coloured bronze. The height, including the handle, is  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches; width at mouth, 11 inches by 8—quadrangular shape. The name Cummisky or MacCummisky is still known in County Armagh.

The late Mr. W. J. Doherty, c.e., a native of Innishowen, and long resident in Dublin, contributed very materially to our store of knowledge on Irish ecclesiastical bells, particularly those of his native county of Donegal. He read a Paper before the Royal Irish Academy on bells, which he afterwards included in a work entitled “Innishowen and Tyreconnell,” which also embodied historical sketches of eminent Donegal

men. He referred to the bell of St. Buodan, which is still in the possession of its hereditary keeper.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Doherty, in his Paper, referred to the following Donegal bells:—the Long Island bell, the Gartan bell, the bell of St. Ernan of Drumnaholm, the Clog Columcille, bell and shrine of St. Mura of Fahan, the Donegal bell, the bell of Connall of Inniskeel.

Many of these bells are lost, not alone to Donegal, but to Ireland—notably the bell and shrine of St. Mura; this bell and shrine were purchased by a Mr. M'Clelland, of Dungannon, from a man called Reynolds, of Innishowen, in the year 1850, for the sum of six pounds. It was afterwards sold by auction at Christie's in London, and bought by Lord Londesborough, for 72 guineas; and at the disposal of his collection was sold to a French dealer, who took it to Paris, and thus one of the most valuable relics of early Christianity in Ireland is probably lost to us for ever.<sup>2</sup>

The extinction by death of the hereditary keepers, and the great Irish famine of 1846, and the distress and emigration in the years following, were the principal factors that led to the dispersal of many valuable Irish relics. The Gartan bell was sold to the Rev. G. H. Reade, Rector of Inniskeen, County of Louth, for the sum of three pounds, in the year 1847. It was a riveted iron bell coated with bronze, and was used as a cup to drink water or medicine from as a cure. It is stated there are some ten Irish ecclesiastical bells in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh, that were sold by a collector, Mr. John Bell, of Dungannon. We cannot deal with Irish bells without referring to the greatest Irish antiquary of the latter part of the nineteenth century, the late Bishop Reeves of Down and Connor. He was a great Irish scholar, and deeply read in the ancient ecclesiastical history of Ireland. In the year 1849, he published, through the firm of Marcus Ward & Co., a beautifully illustrated monograph on the bell of St. Patrick, with five chromo-lithographic drawings. In November, 1863, he read a Paper on this bell before the Royal Irish Academy; and in the following month, December, he read a second Paper on "Some ecclesiastical bells in possession of the Lord Primate." The most important bell in the Primate's collection was the bell of St. Mogue, which he, the Rev. Marcus Gervais Beresford, secured when Vicar of Drung and Larah, in the County of Cavan. But it is the bell of St. Patrick that we are most interested in, from its ancient connexion with the city in which this meeting of our Society is held, viz., Derry Columcille.

<sup>1</sup> This bell was exhibited by its keeper, Mr. Charles Doherty, to the members of the Society at Culdaff, the day after this Paper was read.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. H. Patterson, M.R.I.A., who was present at the reading of this Paper, afterwards informed me that he believed it was then in Hertford House, Manchester-square, London. I have since ascertained it was secured in Paris by the late Sir Richard Wallace, and is now safe in the Wallace collection. It is described and illustrated in the old *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i., p. 271.

As Bishop Reeves' Paper on the bell of St. Patrick is of great interest, and as it may not be accessible to all our members, I may be pardoned for repeating some of the references in it, made with that thorough knowledge of his subject that characterised all Dr. Reeves' work:—

“This bell is known as the bell of St. Patrick's Will; it was so called, *par excellence*, as the one supposed to have been reserved by him for his own immediate use, and to have been conveyed, after his death, to the church of his especial regard.”

Bells he distributed through the multitudinous churches and oratories founded by him with unsparing hand. Fifty he is said to have bestowed on the churches of a single province, Connaught; and wherever he placed a minister of religion, he provided him with the instrument of invitation to his ministrations.

He further says, agreeably to the ancient custom—both Pagan and Christian—of depositing, in the graves of the illustrious dead, the personal insignia of life, there was an early belief that three sacred objects were buried with our apostle in his grave at Saul; and the record of the invention, which the mediæval compiler of the Annals of Ulster borrowed from the then ancient Book of Cuana, may be regarded as the earliest announcement of the existence of the bell under consideration. At the year 552 he thus writes:—I have found what follows in the Book of Cuana. The relics of Patrick were placed in a shrine by Columcille, sixty years after his death. Three precious reliquaries were found in his tomb—to wit, the Cup, the Gospel of the Angel, and the Bell of the Will. The angel, in this manner showed to Columcille how to distribute the three reliquaries, namely, the Cup to Down, the Bell of the Will to Armagh, and the Gospel of the Angel to Columcille himself; and it is called the Gospel of the Angel, because he received it at the Angel's hand.

Then follows a very elaborate description of St. Patrick's bell, which is given in Dr. Reeves' Paper in the *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxvii., from page 1 to page 30. It is an iron-riveted bell, coated with bronze, formed of two plates of sheet-iron, bent over so as to meet; the height, including the handle, is  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches, exclusive of handle,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches; breadth at crown is five, and the width  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches; the mouth is  $4\frac{7}{8}$  by  $3\frac{7}{8}$  inches, and its girth 16 inches. The entire weight is 3lb. 11 oz. The Four Masters, in 1425, style it the Bell of St. Patrick's Will; and Dr. O'Donovan accepts the name as denoting a bequest of the saint. In the course of ages, this bell came to be regarded as a most valuable relic. Like the Cathach, it was probably taken in front of the battle, the warriors being actuated by the same idea as the Israelites when they took with them the Ark of the Covenant. Oaths taken, and covenants made on it, were supposed to be inviolable;



so that by the eleventh century it became greatly venerated, and an hereditary keeper was appointed, whose special duty was its charge.

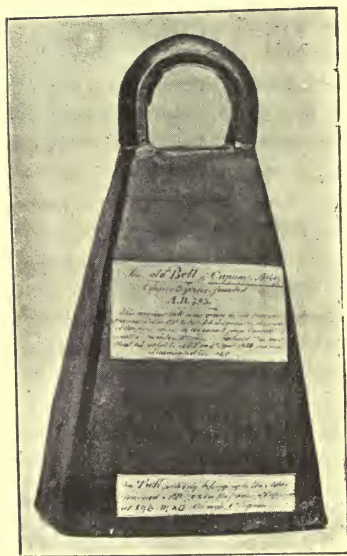
The keepers of St. Patrick's Bell were a family called Mulholland, who had its custody for ages, for which service a townland was granted to them. This responsibility was shared only for a short period by another family called O'Mellin. The Annals of Ulster, at the year 1044, record—"A predatory expedition by Niall, son of Maelsechlainn, King of Aileach, against Ui-Meith, and against Cuailgne, in which he carried off 1,200 cows and a multitude of captives in revenge for the violation of 'the Bell of the Will.' Another excursion by Muirchertach Ua Neill into Mughdorna, whence he carried off a cattle spoil and prisoners, in revenge of the violation of the same bell." Thus we see that any violation of the sanctity of covenants or oaths taken on this bell was visited with the most severe punishment. In the eleventh century, some time between the years 1091 and 1105, a most magnificent shrine was made for this bell. There are four names on the shrine: the first was Domhnall O'Lachlainn. His death is thus recorded by the Four Masters at 1121—"Domhnall, son of Ardghar Mac Lochlainn, King of Ireland, the most distinguished of the Irish, for personal form, family, sense, prowess, prosperity and happiness; for bestowing of jewels and food upon the mighty and the needy; died at Doire-Choluim-Chille, after being twenty-seven years in sovereignty over Ireland, and eleven years in the kingdom of Aileach, in the seventy-third of his age, on the night of Wednesday, the fourth of the ides of February, being the festival of Mochuarog."

The second name was Domnhall, coarb or heir, that is successor in the Abbey of St. Patrick. The third name is that of the keeper, Chatholan O'Maelchallan.

The fourth name is that of the *ceird* or artificer who designed and executed the costly and beautiful work which covers the shrine. It was customary for artists to record their names on important works such as the one under consideration. His name was Cudulig O'Immainen (O'Meenan). He was of a County Cork family, and was assisted in the execution of the work by his sons. There is a minute description of the shrine in the preface to Stuart's History of Armagh, as well as in Dr. Reeves' Paper, which are too lengthy to repeat here. The metals used in this rare work are bronze, copper, silver, and gold. There is beautiful gold filagree work in various convoluted and interlaced patterns of great beauty and intricacy; also ornaments of fine gold representing serpents curiously and elegantly intertwined in most intricate folds and in various knots. The shrine was made at the expense and by order of King Domhnal, and presented to his friend and namesake Domhnal Mac Amhalgaidh (M'Auley), the Primate. This unique relic passed from the last of the Mulhollands, an old man who had been a teacher, who gave it on his death-bed to one of his pupils, Mr. Adam M'Clean, of

Belfast, who had rendered him many acts of kindness, and saved him from arrest for being implicated in the rising of 1798.

He said: "My dear friend, you were an old and valued scholar of mine; on one occasion you were the means of saving my life, and on many subsequent occasions of providing for its comforts. I am now going to die; I have no child to whom I might leave the little I possess, nor have I any near of kin who might prefer any claim to it. In either case the treasure I possess, and which I hold dear as life, should not have left the family of Mulholland, in which it has been handed down for ages and generations; but I am the last of my race, and you are the best friend I have. I therefore give it to you; and when I am gone, dig in the garden in a certain spot, and you will find a box there; take it up



The Bell of Cappagh.

and preserve the contents for my sake." Mr. M'Cleane did so, and came upon an oak box, on opening which he found this bell and shrine, and beside them a worn copy of Bedell's quarto Irish Bible. The bell and shrine passed from Mr. M'Cleane to Dr. Todd of Trinity College, and afterwards to the Royal Irish Academy, in whose collection (now in the National Museum, Dublin) it is one of the most valued treasures.

I will next refer to two bronze bells which have not been previously described; and some facts connected with them which I wish to record are probably known only to myself. Both bells belong to County Tyrone—one, the bell of the parish of Cappagh, and the other the Bell of Drumragh, the parish in which Omagh is situated. The Bell

of Cappagh is at present in the collection formed by the late Surgeon Young, of Monaghan, and which was purchased after his death by Sir John Leslie, Bart., of Glasslough House. I have frequently handled this bell, and have a photo of it taken by Mr. Young. The following inscription is on a label on the bell in the handwriting of Mr. Young:—“The old bell of Cappagh Abbey, County Tyrone, founded A.D. 792. This ancient bell was given by the Rev. Francis Quinn, P.P., to Mr. John Donnelly, merchant, Omagh, when he removed from Cappagh to another parish.” Mr. Donnelly certified this, and that he sold it to J. F., 5th April, 1858.

The J. F. from whom Surgeon Young purchased this bell was an old man whom I last saw in the year 1890. He was an itinerant bell-hanger and collector of antiquities, whose circuit of operations extended over the provinces of Ulster and Connaught. He corresponded with me about antiquities he picked up in his travels; and I retain several of his letters, written with great intelligence and a thorough knowledge of the objects he collected. His name was John Ford. The last two letters I received from him were written from Ballina, Co. Mayo, dated October, 1890.

He informed me that he collected for several gentlemen in Dublin—amongst others, the late Sir William Wilde; and the method he adopted was rather novel, and worth repeating. In the course of his journeys, he attended fairs and markets, and usually retained a few typical specimens of bronze, stone, and flint implements. He would procure a hay-rake, and suspend the various articles from the pegs of the rake, and mount it over his shoulder. The country folk were attracted; and he then announced that he was a purchaser of such things. By this means he was most successful in getting implements at a time that they were very little valued. Mr. John Donnelly, of Omagh, from whom Ford purchased the Bell of Cappagh, was personally known to me for very many years. Cappagh was an ancient ecclesiastical seat in existence for centuries before the town of Omagh—near to which it is situated—was heard of. It is referred to in Primate Colton's Visitation of the See of Derry in the year 1397 (see *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i., page 184). The Primate passed through Cappagh on his way to Derry. It was too small to accommodate his retinue, so that they had to proceed to Ardstraw—another very ancient foundation—to lodge for the night.

The following are the dimensions of this ancient bronze bell:—from mouth to crown, 9 inches; to top of handle,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches; total height,  $11\frac{3}{4}$  inches; breadth at mouth,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $4\frac{5}{8}$  inches; breadth at crown,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

The Bell of Drumragh, known as the Black Bell, is still in possession of its hereditary keepers,<sup>1</sup> a family long resident in the vicinity of Omagh,

<sup>1</sup> The Bell of Drumragh was exhibited at the Derry Meeting, having been entrusted to me by its hereditary keeper.



called M'Enhill. The last of the M'Enhills in the male line died within the past few years, and the bell passed to a sister who is married to a Mr. Doherty, of Omagh, in whose possession it now is. The last member of the M'Enhills in the male line related to me several years since some legends about the bell. When a member of this family died, the oldest surviving male member carried this bell before the coffin, and rung it at intervals until the church was reached. After leaving the church, the bell was carried behind the coffin and rung till the grave was reached. The following legend was told me many years ago by an old man of the M'Enhill family. He said:—"Many centuries ago, before roads or bridges were made to old Drumragh graveyard, two funerals were entering it at the same time, one a person called



The Bell of Drumragh, Omagh.

M'Enhill, and the other Campbell. When the M'Enhills' funeral was passing a certain spot, a bell began to ring in the ground; but when the other funeral passed the same spot, it ceased. After this, when any member of the M'Enhill family was being buried, and passed this spot, the bell rang; but it never rang when anyone else passed over, so the M'Enhills dug down and discovered the bell; and it has been in their family ever since." Another legend related to me by the present custodian of the bell is:—"About twenty years ago, Sarah M'Enhill died. The night before the funeral, an uncle of deceased, a certain Oiney or Owen M'Enhill, was returning from Omagh about ten o'clock at night; when he reached the plantation at Cavanacaw, the bell started ringing in

the plantation, and kept ringing until he got half a mile further on his way. Thinking someone was ringing the bell for mischief, he inquired when he reached the house, and was told the bell had not been moved from its place." The following are the dimensions of this bell:— $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches high from mouth to crown; 2 inches to top of handle—a total of  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches; at mouth it is 5 inches in breadth, by  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches in depth.

Another well-known Ulster bell is that of Kilbroney, which is now in the Roman Catholic Church, Rostrevor, Co. Down. It is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches high; handle,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches; at mouth it is  $7\frac{5}{8}$  inches by 7. I was shown

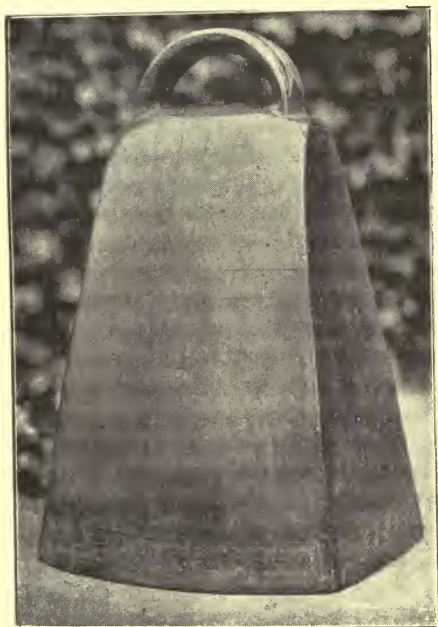


St. Broncha's Bell, Kilbroney, near Rostrevor, County Down  
(From a Photograph by Mr. R. Welch.)

this bell by the Rev. Mr. Lowry, c.c., in the church in the year 1888. It is a fine specimen of a bronze bell. Father Lowry gave me the following particulars:—It was found about a century ago amongst the branches of a tree that had been blown down during a storm, in the ruins of the monastery of St. Broncha, patroness of the parish.

The Bell of Bangor Abbey, County Down, is now in the possession of Colonel M'Cance, of Knocknagoney, near Holywood. In the old *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i., p. 179, it is recorded that "This bell was found in the ruins of the Abbey about sixty years ago" (which would bring it back to the last decade of the eighteenth century), and was in 1853 (the

date this reference was made) in possession of Dr. Stephenson, Belfast. It is quite perfect, except the clapper, and made of a dark bronze, giving a good tone when struck. It is ornamented by an incised border around the base, as well as a handsome Latin cross on each side of its broadest face. I submitted a photograph of the ornament to Mr. John Vinycomb, M.R.I.A., who considers it a Celtic variety of the Fret. The cross extends from the border to the crown; and where the arms cross the shaft, it is cusped. It measures—height to crown, 12 inches, and to top of handle 14 inches; the mouth is 9 inches by 8; the metal is  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch thick, and the entire weight is 20 lb. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. From its large size, style of ornament, and weight, I consider it one of the later bells.



The Bell of Bangor, County Down. Height, 14 inches; mouth, 9 inches by 8.  
(From a Photograph by Mr. R. Welch.)

The Bell of St. Patrick weighs only 3 lb. 11 oz.; and all the early bells are small in size, and light in weight, so that the Bell of Bangor, weighing as it does almost 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  stone, would be heavy for a hand-bell, and may have been made at a period that bells were beginning to be suspended.

I will briefly refer to another Ulster bell known as the Bell of Ballymena. It was discovered in the townland of Cabragh, and parish of Kirkinriola, distant from Ballymena three miles. It was found in July, 1870, and purchased by Mr. W. Arthurs, a dealer in antiquities,



and bought from him by Robert Day, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., Cork. I had a personal interview with Mr. Day about this bell, and he assured me that it was found at the ruined Church of Kirkinriola, which was appropriate to the Abbey of Muckamore, and that Bishop Reeves had no doubt but that it was the ancient bell of that church, of which there is little else remaining. Mr. Day stated further that he was in Ballymena the week that Arthurs bought it, and that he was able to verify his story. It is now in the custody of Professor E. Perceval Wright, M.D., J.P., of Trinity College, President of our society. The following are the dimensions of this bell kindly forwarded to me by Dr. Wright:—from mouth to crown, 10 inches; to top of handle,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches—total height,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches; breadth at mouth,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches; depth at one side, 4 inches; at the other side,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches. It has no ornamentation, and shows no signs of weathering.

I have confined myself to bells belonging to Ulster; but there are many others in museums and private collections that I have not referred to. There are bells, and also many ancient Irish manuscripts, in various places on the Continent of Europe. Of the latter, the Book of St. Gall and the Antiphony of Bangor, both brought from County Down in the very infancy of the ancient Celtic Church: the first is now in Switzerland, and the second in Milan, removed from Bobbio, Northern Italy, to which it probably came with St. Columbanus or some of his disciples.

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#### NOTES ADDED IN THE PRESS.

Page 49.—The bells referred to on this page were presented by Primate M. G. Beresford's son to Armagh Library. Bishop Reeves' account of these five bells was published in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. viii., pp. 441–450, and the Paper was partly reproduced in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1865, with a plate and woodcut.—[Ed.]

Page 50.—Dr. Reeves' Paper was not published until fourteen years after it was read. It was re-issued with an enlarged title and a brief introduction.—[Ed.]

OCCUPATION<sup>1</sup> OF CONNAUGHT BY THE ANGLO-NORMANS  
AFTER A.D. 1237.

BY H. T. KNOX, M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

*(Continued from Volume XXXII., page 406.)*

## PART III.

CANTRED OF OWYL.<sup>2</sup>—INQUISITION C.

**I**NQUISITION taken before John Moriz, Escheator of Ireland, at Athenry, on the last day of December, in seventh year of King Edward III., by the oath of Bernard de Staunton, Knight, John de Stauntone, Knight, John de Exeter, Robert Gaynard, Maurice Gaynard, Robert a clerk, Thomas Dolfyn, William Walshe, William Seman, Thomas Glyse, William de Atthy, and Richard Dolfyn, jurors, who say, etc., etc., that there is—

£10 from one cantred in Owyl Botiller, by John le Botiller.

£10 13s. 4d. from four townlands which John de Burgo held

£10 13s. 4d. from four townlands which Onayl<sup>3</sup> held.

£16 13s. 4d. from seven townlands which Robert Laweles holds.

53s. 4d. from one townland in Myntraghyn,<sup>4</sup> which William de Burgo of Owyl holds.

40s. from Knappaugy.<sup>5</sup>

Total of value of this cantred of Owyl, parcel of the manor of Loghry, £52 13s. 4d.

## CANTRED OF BAK AND OF GLEN.

£13 6s. 8d. from the cantred of Bak and of Glen, which the heirs of William Baret hold freely.

13s. 8d. from one townland in Irehloghton, now nothing.

22s. from one townland of Cabragh<sup>6</sup> and Raytrayny.

11s. 8d. from one quarter in Corbeggan.<sup>7</sup>

10s. 4d. from one quarter in Lyssarewel.

11s. 8d. from one quarter in Cathyrleilan.

2s. from Inchawyn, by Richard Baret.

<sup>1</sup> The Paper on the "Occupation of the County Galway" was prepared for the meeting at Galway, and was confined to that county (*Journal*, vol. xxxi., p. 365).

<sup>2</sup> Umhall.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Money or Moyna, near Castle Affy.

<sup>6</sup> Cabragh, near Inishcoe.

<sup>3</sup> O'Maille (?).

<sup>5</sup> Knappagh.

<sup>7</sup> Corravegaun, in Ballynahaglish.

12*d.* from Row,<sup>1</sup> by Thomas, son of Philip Baret.

6*d.* from a piece of land, by Geoffrey Martyn.

Tenants in Rathberk pay six crannocs of oats for suit of the lord's mill, in ordinary years worth 40*s.*

Total of old value of these cantreds, parcel of the Manor of Loghry, £19 7*s.* 2*d.*

Total of value now, £18 13*s.* 10*d.*

CANTRED OF TYRAULYF,<sup>2</sup> ORRUS,<sup>3</sup> TYROMOY,<sup>4</sup> AND CONSUMMOR.<sup>5</sup>

£13 6*s.* 8*d.* from the cantred of Tyraunlyf.<sup>2</sup>

26*s.* 8*d.* from one townland in Casteldunghy,<sup>6</sup> now nothing.

110*s.* from one townland in Carne.<sup>7</sup>

Pleas and perquisites of the Court, 4*s.*

£13 6*s.* 8*d.* from one cantred of Orrus,<sup>3</sup> which John de Exeter holds in fee.

£13 6*s.* 8*d.* from the cantred of Tyrremoy,<sup>4</sup> now nothing.

40*s.* from three townlands in Duncoghy,<sup>8</sup> now nothing.

£13 6*s.* 8*d.* from the cantred of Condonmor, now nothing.

£4 10*s.* from three townlands in Leyghuyl,<sup>9</sup> now nothing.

Total of old value of these cantreds, parcel of the manor of Loghry, £66 17*s.* 4*d.*

Total of value now, £32 7*s.* 4*d.*

CANTRED OF SYLMOLRON<sup>10</sup> (CASTLE OF TOBERBRIDE).<sup>11</sup>

At Toberbride is an old castle surrounded by a stone wall, which would be very useful for keeping the peace of those parts, if a sufficient ward was. . . In the castle are ruinous buildings, a hall, a chamber, a kitchen, and other houses, worth nothing beyond cost of repairs, because they need great repairs.

In demesne two carucates and sixty acres of arable land were under the lord's plough, worth 12*d.* an acre, in all £15, but now nothing.

12 acres of meadow, 12*s.*, but now nothing.

One pasture 13*s.* 4*d.*, but now nothing.

Another woodland pasture in Rathfernan, 26*s.* 8*d.*, but now nothing.

Another pasture, 10*s.*, now nothing.

A watermill at Rathfernan, 46*s.* 8*d.*, now nothing, because ruinous, and on account of the war.

<sup>1</sup> Roe Island, in Lough Con.

<sup>2</sup> Tirawly, *i.e.* Kilmoremoy and Ballysakeery parishes.

<sup>3</sup> Parishes of Toomore, Attymas, and Kilgarvan.

<sup>4</sup> Tireragh, east of Leaffony river.

<sup>5</sup> Dunmaic Conchobhair, now Castleconor. An indistinct mark of contraction is over the Con in each case.

<sup>6</sup> Castle-na-Geeha, near Rathfran.

<sup>7</sup> Carn, in Moygawnagh parish.

<sup>8</sup> Donicoy, in Tireragh.

<sup>9</sup> Lisladhguill, obsolete, in Dromard parish.

<sup>10</sup> Sil Maelruain.

<sup>11</sup> Ballintoher, in Roscommon.



20s. from prisage of beer, with "Staūs,"<sup>1</sup> now nothing.

Grass of a certain place, 3s., now nothing.

At Toberbride, a water-mill, 66s. 8d., now nothing.

26s. 8d from prisage of beer there, now nothing.

*Free Tenants.*—£14 from one townland in Balymacgagan, three townlands in Dyrydunus and elsewhere, which M'Cortan held at will, but now nothing.

Pleas and perquisites of the Hundred of Toberbryd, £4, now nothing.

10s. from one townland in Fichbary<sup>2</sup> [or Fithbary], which the heirs of John de Barry held, but now nothing.

6d. from one piece of land in Clanfadd,<sup>3</sup> which Lucas M'Cortan held, now nothing.

40s. from one townland in Curran,<sup>4</sup> which Adam de Burgo held, but now nothing.

£12 14s. 4d. from five townlands in the Burgage of Rathfernan, but now nothing.

£20 from five townlands at Toberbrid, now only £10.

40s. from half a townland which was under the lord's plough, but now nothing.

52s. from one townland in Myntynan, now nothing.

Total of old value of this cantred, parcel of the manor of Loghry, £84 1s. 10d.

Total of value now, £10.

*Sleoflow.*—£20 from the cantred of Sleoflow,<sup>5</sup> but now nothing.

66s. 8d. from one theodum in Arkagh,<sup>6</sup> now nothing.

66s. 8d. from one theodum in Kerymoynġ,<sup>7</sup> and Keryloghnayrñ,<sup>8</sup> but now nothing.

66s. 8d. from Caryoghtragh,<sup>9</sup> now nothing.

Total of old value of this cantred, parcel of the manor of Loghry, £30, now nothing.

#### SERJEANTY AND PLEAS AND PERQUISITES OF GREAT COURT OF CONNAUGHT.

£13 6s. 8d., from the Serjeanty of Connaught, and now only £6 3s. 4d.

Pleas and perquisites of the Great Court of Connaught, were 500 marks, but now only £100.

Total of old value of Serjeanty and Great Court of Connaught, £346 13s. 4d.

Total of value, now £106 3s. 4d.

<sup>1</sup> Or 'Stans.' This is not understood. May it be a mistake for 'Stallage'?

<sup>2</sup> Figh, T. L., north-west of Lough Glinn (?).

<sup>3</sup> Clonfad, north-east of Lough Glinn.

<sup>4</sup> Caran, in Cloonigormican (?), or an obsolete Curraun.

<sup>5</sup> Sliabh Lúgha.

<sup>6</sup> Airtech.

<sup>7</sup> Ciarraige Muige Ai.

<sup>8</sup> Ciarraige Locha na nAirneadh.

<sup>9</sup> Ciarraige Uachtarach.

William, late Earl of Ulster, held in demesne in fee 71 acres of land of Bede of the Bishopric of Clonfert by service of 36s. 6d., which are worth nothing for the present on account of poverty of tenants of those parts.

*Sligagh.*—The Earl held the manor of Sligagh, Coran, Lune, and Carbry with appurtenances, which were worth £333 6s. 8d., which are in Connaught, by the same services by which he held his other lands, etc., in Connaught, from which nothing can be got now, on account of the destruction of the war of both English and Irish there.

Total of old value, £333 6s. 8d., now nothing.

*Knights' Fees.*—They cannot learn anything about knights' fees, because they hold their lands by townlands making suit at the lord's court. There is one church, taxed at 6 marks, whose advowson and presentation belonged to the Earl and will belong to his heirs. There is another church<sup>1</sup> at Owyl, taxed at 6 marks, whose advowson and presentation belonged to the Earl and will belong to his heirs. There is another church at Arthdraghyn,<sup>2</sup> taxed at 6 marks, whose advowson and presentation belonged to the Earl and to the heir of Richard de Cla . . .<sup>3</sup> alternately.

There are other lands in Connaught, Ulster, and other parts of Ireland which are among the Irish, and none can go to them to value them or take any profit, because the Irish among whom they lie will not allow any minister of the king or any other Englishman to manage them.

Elizabeth de Burgo is daughter and next heir of the Earl, and is of age of one year and a-half and upwards.

The kingdom of Umhall is at the head of Inquisition C, forming one great cantred of Umhall. It was much broken up. A Butler had the northern part, the parishes of Achill and Burrishoole, which were a large native denomination called Latharis in the Taxation, which I think is Leath Fhearghuis. O'Fergus was one of the three chief families of Clann Maile. As the Earl of Ormond owned Ballycroy at the Composition, I suppose that the O'Malleys held it in the thirteenth century. "The sons of Magnus, and the sons of Conchobhar Ruadh, joined together, and turned against the Foreigners, and the castle of Mac Henry was burned by them, and its constable taken prisoner; . . . Jordan de Exeter, however, and John Butler, and Robin Lawless, and several persons along with them, assembled and went to Baile-tobair-Patraic, and from thence to Achadh-Fabhair; and they plundered all Umhall, north and south on the morrow. Mac Henry came also, with a large army, into Umhall (for it belonged to himself and he was residing in it).

<sup>1</sup> Latharis, in Taxation, i.e. Burrishoole.

<sup>2</sup> Ardrahan.

<sup>3</sup> Clare.

Mac Henry then made peace with Domhnall, son of Maghnus" (L.C. 1248). From this it appears that the sons of Maghnus and of Conchobhar Ruadh, the Clann Muirchertaigh Muimhnigh, had previously submitted and lived under Mac Henry.

In this paragraph "Mac" has been inserted in the translation before the second Henry, which does not appear in the Irish. It would run that after Mac Henry's castle was taken by insurgents John Butler and others assembled. Henry himself also brought a large army. Mac Henry then made peace. This is the form in which the event is described by the "Four Masters" who copied the annals of Loch Cé or a common original. But they explain that Mac Henry is Piers Poer. For calling him Piers Poer I see no authority beyond the entry in 1249 (L.C.), "Piers Poer, *i.e.* the son of Henry." A son of Henry Pincerna is mentioned in 1215 and Henry le Buttiler in 1237.<sup>1</sup> I take this second Henry, if they were not the same, to be the Henry who came up, and Mac Henry to be his son who owned the castle, to whom Donnell O'Connor again submitted in face of irresistible force. John Butler was killed in 1270, and Henry Butler, lord of Umhall, was slain by Conor Roe's son Cathal and others in 1272 (L.C.). The turmoil of this period seems to have been the cause of the final expulsion of Clan Murtough from Erris.

I think there can be no doubt that Henry Butler and his sons were the immediate lords of north Umhall. The Butlers do not appear again in the Annals, and seem to have had quiet possession after the turbulent O'Conors left. The Irish gentry must have had a much easier time under their Norman lords than when they were subject to the irregular domination and exactions and encroachments of the O'Connor family. The Butlers of this branch became extinct or removed soon after 1333, as the whole Butler estate was occupied by Bourkes and O'Malleys in the sixteenth century. The Lawless family also disappeared from Connaught.

The castle is called of Tyren-more in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise." Downing says that Burrishoole was reputed to have been a corporation, and to have been built by the Butlers. The castle, of which some traces remain on the point to the north of the abbey, was Mac Henry's castle. The town was the Burgeis Cinntrachta, Burgage of Head of Strand, burnt by Clan Murtough in 1247 (L.C.).

A large part of Umhall belonged to the Archbishop of Tuam. Regarding the remainder, the only information is that given by the Inquisition. John de Burgo and O'Malley each held four townlands at £10 13s. 4d. Robert Lawless had seven at £16 13s. 4d.; William de Burgo had one in Myntroghyn, at £2 13s. 4d.; and £2 10s. came from Knappagh. The whole territory seems to be covered by these holdings. John de Burgo is probably the son of Philip, from whom descended the Mac Philpins, and William is probably his brother. O'Malley thus

<sup>1</sup> D. I. i., Nos. 672, 2266.



appears as a tenant of the Earl. He was the only Irish chieftain who had a considerable position in the county Mayo in the sixteenth century.

The Inquisition does not mention Erris in any form that I can recognize. The Clan Murtough, having been driven out of Carra and Clancowan by Richard de Burgo in 1235 in consequence of their rising against him, remained in North Umhall and in Erris. It is most likely that the head of the clan held Erris by knight service, or that Erris was given on such service to William Barrett on condition of expelling them. They were at all times a very turbulent clan. After a rising under Donnell Irruis in 1272, they were finally expelled in 1273 (L.C.). The country seems then to have been given to William Barrett, called by Mac Firbis, William Mor of Kilcommon,<sup>1</sup> I suppose, because he built a castle at Kilcommon Erris. It remained in the hands of the Barretts until the Bourkes of Carra encroached on them in the fifteenth century, and they built several castles therein.

Next after Umhall the Inquisition takes the two great cantreds called of Bak and Glen and of Tyraulyf, which comprise the whole kingdom of O'Dubhda, omitting Erris. The former was the southern part of Tirawley, broken up in part into small holdings. A Hundred court was put at Carn in Moygawnagh, where a castle has been from early times.

Omitting profits of mill and court, the rents, from what I have identified as in the present barony of Tirawley, come to £37 10s. 6d., which is very close to the sum of £40 charged upon the freeholders of 160 quarters of land as Mac William's rent in the Composition, being the sum due to him out of certain lands named in a list extracted from the *Historia et Genealogia Familiæ de Burgo*, all but a few of which are identified.<sup>2</sup> These I take to be the tenures of 1333.

The principal tenants were the Barretts, who certainly had Bac and Glen. The Bacs are the parishes of Ballynahaglish and Kilbelfad; Glen is Glen Nephin, which included, I think, Glenhest, which took its name from Hosty Merrick, said to have held it under the Barretts.<sup>3</sup> He was killed fighting on the side of the Butlers in 1272 (L.C.).

Barrett built a castle called Caislen na Circe, and founded a town, just opposite to Foxford, but on the Tirawley side of the Moy.<sup>4</sup>

The small cantred of Tyraulyf is the part of the parish of Kilmoremoy, on the west of the Moy. The parish bears the name of Tirawley in the *Valor Beneficiorum* of 1535 and in the *Regal Visitation* of 1615. The cantred seems to have included Ballysakeery or a considerable part thereof, for the Barretts were in possession in the sixteenth century, except so far as the Bourkes had ousted them.<sup>5</sup>

The Carews had lands and a castle called Doonmacnyny, which I

<sup>1</sup> H. F. 329.

<sup>2</sup> H. W. C. 335, and H. F. 455.

<sup>3</sup> H. F. 331.

<sup>4</sup> O. S. L. Mayo, ii., p. 354.

<sup>5</sup> H. F. 458; H. W. C. 331.

cannot identify, at the Composition. Richard Carew is mentioned in 1255 as having conveyed 11 vills of land in Bredagh, the parish of Moygawnagh, and part of that of Kilfian, to William Barrett.<sup>1</sup> It is likely to be the 1 vill in Carne, held at £5 10s., which would be 10s. for each of 11 carucates, sometimes called villatas, supposing villata to be used in the Inquisition in the indefinite sense of a tract less than a cantred, but not a defined tribal denomination like theodum.

Mac Firbis says that Sir William Lawless had the tract from the strand of Lacken to Rathfran.<sup>2</sup> The name does not otherwise appear in connexion with Tirawley, so I suppose the Lawless rights were transferred. The estate would be represented by Casteldunghy, castle of Dun na Gaoithe, afterwards Caislen nagaoithe.

In 1306, a Cogan and an Usher and John son of William of Rathcogan were indicted for robbing the abbot of the B.V.M.'s convent near Crossmolina.<sup>3</sup> That abbey seems to have been founded within the estate of a de Barry, as the rectory of that parish church belonged to the Franciscan House of Ballybeg, near Buttevant.<sup>4</sup> Rathcogan is an old name of Charleville in the de Barry estate in the county Cork. An estate seems here to have passed from de Barry to de Cogan, as did Clancuain. Cabragh and Ragtrayny may represent it.

Cusacks were among the earliest settlers. The family was important in the thirteenth century. They survived as freeholders in a small position to the sixteenth century, but I cannot ascertain where their lands were. According to Mac Firbis, Adam Cusack had Meelick. The fighting between the Barretts and the Cusacks, in which William Barrett was killed, explains the entry in the accounts of considerable sums paid in 1285 and following years by Batinus Barrett and Gilbert de Lyneth "for having peace." The Lynets were of some importance, as Gilbert was sheriff for a time, but became obscure.

In the thirteenth century the Barretts were in two branches. Their relationship is not clear, but taking the entries in the English records and the statements, admittedly uncertain, of D. Mac Firbis and of M. O'Clery,<sup>5</sup> it seems that there were two William Barretts; one was father of Batin, and seems to be the William who fought with Adam Cusack, and to have been the owner of Tyraulyf. The other William was lord of Bac and Glen Nephin. Batin was head of his family, and gave its chief the title Mac Bhaitin, but he was chief of his own branch only, which was the most important; in the Composition Barretts and Clanpadynes are mentioned as if separate families.

Breatnach is given as another name of the uncertain William of Moyne, and Mac Firbis thought it was correctly given. The name Bretnach occurs in the English record in connexion with Connaught,

<sup>1</sup> D. I. ii., No. 272, 474.

<sup>2</sup> H. F. 333.

<sup>3</sup> Archdall's "Mon.," 501.

<sup>4</sup> S. D. K., No. 902.

<sup>5</sup> D. I. iii.

<sup>6</sup> H. F. 325; *Journal*, vol. xvii., p. 91, 92.



but indefinitely. This William is called of Kilcommon, and is said to be the ancestor of the Barretts of Erris. I suppose the name Breatnach (Welshman) was merely descriptive, and was not carried on by the family.

Tirawley was one of the tracts kept much in the lord's hands. Hence there was room for the Bourkes to settle themselves in the fifteenth century, and cause for fighting if the Bourkes sought to enforce against the Barretts a superior title to lands not included in the old estates. Until then the Barretts had no rival power in Tirawley.

The Inquisition, down to the item of the court at Carne, has dealt with the present barony of Tirawley; it now deals with the land of the Hy Fiachrach of the Moy, the present barony of Tireragh and the parishes of Kilgarvan and Attymas and Toomore in Gallen. These three parishes form the "cantred of Orrus which John de Exeter holds in fee." Orrus looks like, and may be, a form of Iorrus, but it is not the barony of Iorrus. That had a proper name, "Iorrus Iarthair" (H. F. 73). This tract may have been Iorrus, with a qualifying word. Conndonmor I take for Conordonmor, and to be a name of the ancient Dun Maic Conchobhair, now called Castleconor. This cantred and Orrus make up the tract from Toomore to Leaffony, which was the lordship of O'Caomain. Orrus is now in Gallen, because MacJordan held it.

The cantred of Tyrremoy, or Tiromoy, I take to be Tir Muaidhe, or a form from Tir Fhiachrach Muaidhe, and to be the rest of Tireragh, except the comparatively small estates of Duncoghy and Leyghuyl.

Duncoghy must be Dun Ui Chobhthaigh, now Donicoy, a little to the east of Donaghintraine, and may have covered that castle. Leyghuyl is Ladhghuill, which appears in Lios Ladhghuill,<sup>1</sup> "the head seat of the eastern district." Longford Castle answers in position; for the district, according to the account in "Hy Fiachrach," must be at least a part of Dromard parish. Dr. O'Rorke says he has found the Lis in Coillte Luighne, but gives no reasons.<sup>2</sup>

Tireragh was known as Mac Fheorais's country, and the eastern part was certainly occupied by the de Berminghams. They are mentioned in connexion with this country in 1249 and 1261, L.C., and 1278, F.M., and in 1308, if Mac Walter, constable of Bunfinne, was one of them. Dr. O'Rorke quotes<sup>3</sup> a deed of 1330, by Gilbert de Bermingham, dealing with parts of Tireragh and the Termon of Ballysadare. The O'Dowdas easily accepted the new lord. They are rarely mentioned as fighting against the Foreigners; and, in 1308, Brian O'Dowda and the Hy Fiachrach were in alliance with the Foreigners of Luighne. In 1248 Murtough O'Dowda was killed by Aedh O'Conor, who had attacked the Berminghams.<sup>4</sup>

Ardnarea was burnt against the Foreigners in 1266, and this marks

<sup>1</sup> H. F. 173, 263, 273.

<sup>2</sup> "Ballysadare and Kilvartnet, pp. 275, 276."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> F. M. 1247, 1248, 1278, 1316; L. C. 1308.



at least a castle. Castles of Duncontreathain and Bunfinne are mentioned in 1249, 1266, 1308, 1310, L.C. It is evident that some Berminghams were settled here for forty or fifty years after the Conquest. Thereafter members of the family are not mentioned. It seems as if there were latterly no resident landlords, only garrisons, the country being let out to the O'Dowdas and others.

Castleconor and Ardnarea are said to have been taken from the Foreigners in 1371 by Donnell O'Dowda (F.M.). This shows the early existence of Castleconor—a ruin remarkable for very narrow lancet windows, looking as of an earlier period than the ordinary square tower. It also shows that the de Burgo tenants held their own until then at least.

It is not certain that the Berminghams ever held the cantred of Castleconor. I have noted that Eustace Le Poer had lands at Castleconor, which may be these lands. Piers Poer was with the Berminghams in 1247. It may be that this part of the country held out till 1371, and was a subject of contention later on, because Sir William de Burgo or his son had taken it over from Le Poer.

The Inquisition now moves to the county Roscommon. The marginal note is Cantred of Sylmolron, which is Sil-Maelruain, the tribe name of the O'Flynnns. The omission of this cantred in the text must be because no rent was due, but only knight service. "Piers Ristubhard, lord of Sil-Maelruain, and a noble baron, was killed by Murchadh O'Maelsechlainn on Loch Ribh" (L.C., 1254). Ristubhard seems to be the same name as Ritabhard, which represents Ridelesford in 1235, L.C.; but it may be meant for Rochford. It is the only reference in the Annals to a Ridelesford as settled in Connaught. But the name appears in the State Papers in connexion with Connaught from time to time.

Hardiman's List gives Henry de Rupe as tenant of Sylmorne, which should be the same place. His tenancy of this tract accounts for his having taken up the neighbouring Keryloughnarney. He must have succeeded Piers Ristubhard, if the latter held immediately from de Burgo. No real settlement appears to have been made, or the property fell into absentee hands and the colony decayed. The O'Flynnns fought vigorously against the English; but, as after fifty years they drop out of the Annals, I suppose that Earl Richard's subjugation of the O'Conors in 1286 made them give up hope, submit to the English, and accept the position of tenants, whereby they were in possession and became independent after 1338. There is some direct evidence of agreement in the record that Fiachra O'Flynn was killed by a Burke and de Bermingham when he went to contract a marriage with the Foreigners in 1289, L.C.

The territory consisted of the parish of Kiltullagh and a part of Kilkeevin.

The castle of Toberbride appears as the head of a valuable cantred or Hundred. The place-names being now generally unknown, the extent

is uncertain. The parish of Ballintubber and the eastern part of Kilkeevein were in it, and part of Cloonigormican, and the part of Tibohine, close north-west and north and east of Lough Glinn, and probably a good deal of Baslick. The value was high, though the area was small, because the land was kept under the chief lord's management, and not let out in large fees. The castle is suitable for the reception of a large garrison and use as a magazine, a great border castle in the best position to overawe the O'Conors and prevent raids or to punish them. It is never mentioned in the Annals; because it was, like the towns of Athenry and Galway, far too strong for a plundering Irish army to attempt to take. In 1315 the burning of the *town* of Toberbride is mentioned in the "Annals of Loch Cé." The Inquisition calls it an old castle, and notes that the buildings within it need repair, and that with a sufficient garrison it would be very useful for keeping the peace in those parts. It fell into neglect because the O'Conors and all the Irish of Connaught had been thoroughly beaten down in 1316, and had been quiet since. There is no record of date of building; but I am inclined to attribute it to the earliest years of the occupation. It has been fully described in the *Journal*, vol. xix., p. 24.

Boroughs had been established at Toberbride and at Rathfernan, five townlands for each borough. The rent and mill and prisage of beer of Rathfernan were worth little more than half of the value of those of Toberbride. Possibly Milltown House, near Castleplunket, preserves the memory of the mill of Rathfernan, but it is only a guess. I suspect the Curran, which Adam de Burgo held, to be Caran, a townland name close by in Cloonygormican parish. The principal tenant was Mac Cortan, one of the very few Irish tenants. With no resident lord to protect them these little towns must have disappeared immediately.

The presence of de Barry here, as well as at Ballyhaunis, is to be noted. The Bary in Fychbary may be the name of the owner.

The next Great Cantred is called Sleoflow, Sliabh Lugha, from the first item the cantred of Sliabh Lugha. With it are placed three theodums of the Kerry.

At the Conquest, or soon after, Miles de Angulo, in Irish called Mac Goisdealbh, had the territory of Sliabh Lugha, consisting of the parishes of Kilcolman, Castlemore, Kilmovee, Kilbeagh. The Mac Costellos had also part of Kilturra. He moved here from his old possessions in Galway, Muintir Maifinnain, &c., if he were indeed son of that Gilbert to whom they were given. Miles certainly settled here, and is mentioned as Lord of Sliabh Lugha in 1253, L.C. He secured his possessions by building the Caislen Mor of Sliabh Lugha, now called Castlemore Costello. It is close by and was most likely partly built of the stones of Ailech Mor Ciarraige, which in position answers to the Dun of Ailill Finn, the king of the Gamanraige, to which Fergus Mac Roigh



marched from Cruachan in the Tain Bo Flidais. In his time or soon after was built the castle of Kileolman, mentioned in 1270, L.C.

Airtech is said to have been the parishes of Kilnamanagh and Tibohine. These did constitute the lordship of Mac Dermot Gall in the later times. In the Taxation of 1306 three churches—Kilrodan, Clonard, Kilnardan, now called Kilrocan, Clonard, Kilroddan, or Kilrēdān—are in the south, and two churches, Glynsemliv, now Clonshanville, and Techbithiri, now Tibohine, are in the north of Tibohine. The account of St. Patrick's journey from near Castlemore to Drummot, now Kilroddan, indicates that he left Airtech. The territory of Airtech lay between the river Lung on the west and Abhaim na Foraoise near Belanagare on the east.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the country about the three southern churches would be the Kerymoyny part of Mac Dermot Gall's lordship, and the three northern churches would be in the part properly called Airtech, which is called a theodum in this Inquisition, that is the parish of Kilnamanagh and the northern part of that of Tibohine.

Airtech thus restricted was a part of Mac Dermot's kingdom at the time of the Conquest, but must have been still in actual occupation of families of the Ciarraige. Nothing indicates how it was dealt with at the Conquest; but it seems to have been let out by Earl Richard or by his tenant to one of the Mac Dermots called Dermot Gall, who first appears in history on the side of the English at Ahascragh in 1307, and who in 1315 was in possession of Airtech. Hence I suppose he was called Diarmaid Gall, English Dermot. He called himself lord of Moylurg in 1315, and was killed in 1316 fighting against Felim O'Conor and the English.<sup>2</sup> His descendants were lords of Airtech with the title Mac Dermot Gall, and acquired possession at some time of the Kerymoyny portion of Tibohine parish, but how or when I find no indication.

Kerymoynyng and Kerylochnayrn are to be taken as one theodum. I take Kerymoynyng to be really Kerymoyny. Loch na n Airneadh is known to be Mannin Lake. The Ciarraige of Magh n Ai in early days occupied the parishes of Kilkeevin and Baslick and Kilcorkey and Ballintubber, but by the thirteenth century had been much reduced by the Silmurray, and seem at this time to have had but a part of Kilkeevin and the southern part of Tibohine. Mac Cethernaigh, the chief of the Ciarraige Ai, had an estate near Castlereagh. He seems to have been of the same family as O'Cerin, the old king of the Ciarraige. O'Donovan gives the reputed district of Ciarraige Ai as extending from Castlereagh to the county of Mayo.<sup>3</sup> This agrees with the other indications. Hardiman's list gives Thomas Fitz Lyons and John Fitz Thomas as tenants of two cantreds in Kerymoy and Kerylothnarne. This relates to a much earlier time than

<sup>1</sup> O'Donovan, O. S. L. Mayo, ii., p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> L. C. 1307, 1315, 1316.

<sup>3</sup> "Book of Rights," p. 104.



the Inquisition, and denotes two tenures, if the note is accurate, but in the Inquisition they are one theodum.

By an Inquisition of 8th August, 1282, taken to ascertain what lands John Fitz Thomas of Desmond had held in fee that John held at his death in 1261, it was found that he owned " $\frac{1}{2}$  theodum at Kerylochnarn, in the earldom of Connaught, of Sir Maurice of London, rendering to the chief lord 5 marks a year, worth in time of peace 120 marks, now worth 60 marks and no more, for the greater part is destroyed by the war of the Irish. After the death of John, the said Thomas Fitz Maurice when he came of age gave the same theodum to Henry de Roche in exchange for the manor of Moyale, in the county of Cork," subject to certain conditions.<sup>1</sup>

It was a temporary exchange, not a sale, but it continued, and Henry de Rupe and his son appear in the accounts making payments to the king for this cantred. Henry Roche held it at Thomas Fitz Maurice's death in 1298 at a rent of £33 6s. 8d.

Sir Maurice of London was a contemporary of Maurice Fitz Gerald the Justiciary, but I cannot ascertain who he was. He seems to have been a Carew.<sup>2</sup> As the rent due to the chief lord was 5 marks, I think the term  $\frac{1}{2}$  theodum is of no significance, and that there was but one tenure.

In early times the Upper Ciarraige lands extended into the parishes of Knock and Began, if I correctly identify the names of places in the list of offerings which "the Upper Ciarrichi and their kings offered for ever to Patrick," which is in the Book of Armagh after Tirechan's Collections. They were there in the thirteenth century, and left their name to a large denomination of land; but the portion of their territory lying within the barony of Clanmorris had come to be known as Tirnechtain and Tir Enna.

John Mac Costello's surrender to the Queen in 1586 describes his territory under twenty denominations, whereof the first seven are in Sliabh Lugha.<sup>3</sup> Among the rest are "Keryeghter, Keryoghter, and Cowgy." Coogue townlands lie north and west of Mannin Lake. Keryoghter should be near it and is in fact the parish of Knock and the northern part of Aghamore. The term "parish" here is not very accurate, but is a sufficient indication. Mannin is a separate denomination. The castle was occupied by Mac Jordan Mac Costello, who was known as Mac Jordan of Keryeghter. A list made in settling the Composition in 1587 reduces the whole to 5, and these 13 to 3 tuaths, viz. :—

1. Castlemore, 52 quarters = Castlemore, Kilcolman, Kilturra, North Kilbeagh.
2. Litter Mac Philip, 48 quarters = South Kilbeagh, Kilmovee.
3. Kearyoughter, 52 quarters = Nearly all Aghamore, Knock.
4. Twlwroghan, 52 quarters = West Began, South Annagh.
5. Bellahawnes, 48 quarters = East Began, North Annagh, South and East Aghamore.

<sup>1</sup> D. I. ii., No. 1912.

<sup>2</sup> D. I. i., Nos. 448, 1732, 2138, 2346; ii., No. 1912.

<sup>3</sup> 15 D. K., No. 4898.

These quarters were really only one-fourth of a quarter, called "carrow-myres."

Keryeighter should be the land about Mannin, east and south of Keryoughter. The Lower Kerry seem to be the same as the Kerry of Lough Narney, and to have the latter name because the chief residence of the family was in the peninsula on which Mannin Castle stood. Downing writes in 1684, when traditions were still fresh :—"The barony of Costelowe, *alias* Kerry Arny and Kerry Oughter," and in mentioning lakes, "another fine lough called Loughglinn." This inclusion of Lough Glinn in Keryloughnarney agrees with the tradition which ascribes the building of Lough Glinn Castle to the Fitz Gerald's of Desmond. De Burgo says that Urlare Abbey was the burying-place of the Geraldines of Lough Glinn.<sup>1</sup> I find no other reference to such a family. It shows the family survived the middle of the fifteenth century, when Urlare Abbey was built. The castle is the only work ascribed to the Geraldines, and a round tower belonging to it, which was at one corner of a rectangular enclosure, remains.

Downing gives a tradition that Ballyhaunis friary was founded by the Sliocht Jordan Duff Mac Costello upon a site where the Lords Barry had a manor-house about the beginning of the English Conquest. It is worthy of belief because the friars never left Ballyhaunis; a few always remained in houses close by when they abandoned the conventual buildings. As a son of Jordan Duff was killed in 1367 (F. M. note) it is to be assigned to the close of the fourteenth century at earliest. The architecture suits such a date. This is the only reference to de Barry's in this neighbourhood besides the entry in the Inquisition under Toberbride.

The tract called Kerymoyny in the Inquisition I have defined above as part of Tibohine parish, but it may have extended nearer to Castlereagh.

There was no effective occupation of Airtech, but there was an occupation of Kerymoyny by the Castle of Lough Glinn. It is to be noticed that Lough Glinn was in the seventeenth century treated as part of the barony of Costello, but it was in fact in the county Roscommon. It seems as if Mac Costello had some traditional claim over it. The Keryoughter and Keryloughnarney part was effectively held, but I cannot ascertain how or when the Mac Costellos got possession. These traditions suggest that the Geraldines and de Barry's, a set of Munster colonists, may have held out in these parts longer than is apparent in the Annals, and at last gave up their lands and went away.

The Inquisition now takes up the manor of Sligo, but gives no details beyond the fact that it comprised Sligo, Corran, Leyny, and Carbury, the great Fitz Gerald estate in North Connaught. From the Annals we learn that the O'Haras rose immediately after Earl William's death, and

<sup>1</sup> *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 314.

that Sir Edmund, his uncle, came to subdue them. The fighting appears to have been general and ruinous. From the fact that the manor comprised only the Fitz Gerald estate, it may be inferred that it was constituted a separate manor after the settlement with John Fitz Thomas. Though only portions were transferred to him by Amabill, he may have held the remainder by inheritance or otherwise.

Maurice Fitz Gerald had a grant<sup>1</sup> of Leyny from Richard de Burgo. He seems to have at first given a part of it in fee to Jordan de Exeter by an "agreement<sup>2</sup> relative to Lugna" in 24 Henry III., *i.e.* 1239 or 1240. From the following memorandum it appears that it was cancelled. Jordan was perhaps cautious, and found Gallen and Orrus as much as he could manage. "A feoffment from Jordan de Exonia to Maurice Fitz Gerald, *totum theodum* de Moynter Lathnan, with these villages, *videlicet*, Clongeth, Imegan, Gortlanith, the Letchie, Gassill, Glimemothilt, Lethbally, Macklyirch, Crokan called Ballyharith, Couchcoule, Coulsenaldetu, Ballyobrollan, Lismostuly, Ardcarthie, Ferchath, two towns of Carthytyuly, Loghbrochry, Castlan, Killartheth, Elynaxchust, with their appurtenances" (R. B. 266).

Ballyharith is a fair rendering of Baile Ui hEathra, now Ballyara, near Tobercurry. Glimemothilt is as to the first part some such word as Glinna, and as to the second is Mucolt,<sup>3</sup> now Muckelty, a high hill near Tobercurry. Lethbally, Macklyirch, I take to be Leghbally Meylogh,<sup>4</sup> a denomination of land about Moylough in Achonry parish. Clooningan is a townland name, of which the part *ingan* (probably equivalent to Imegan) is uncommon. Gortlanith is like Gortlamhach, and there is a Lavagh townland. Clongeth is like Clonca, Cluaincatha, in Kilmacteige. Couchcoule, if read as Conchcoule, is like Kincuillew, in Kilmacteige. The first two identifications are, I think, quite satisfactory, and show that the transaction related to South Leyny. Castles were built at Banada and at Ratharderaibe, which were destroyed in 1265, L. C. The latter is identified as a fort in the demesne of Annaghmore, near the bridge of Ardree.<sup>5</sup> There is no trace of a castle in it, but the castle may have been anywhere within an estate known by that name. Sir Maurice Fitz Maurice made over the lands of Banada to his brother Thomas.<sup>6</sup>

The Templars had lands in Kilvarnet which amounted to 16 quarters in the Composition. They must have built a castle, as the destruction of the castle of Templehouse is recorded in 1271, L. C. Dr. O'Rorke identifies it with the castle built by Walter de Burgo at Athingail<sup>7</sup> in Corann. It may be so, but the description of it as in Corann is not likely to be

<sup>1</sup> R. B. 266.

<sup>3</sup> F. M. 1368, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> O'Rorke's "History of Sligo," ii., p. 149.

<sup>7</sup> "History of Sligo," ii., p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.

<sup>4</sup> Wood-Martin's "History of Sligo," Part I., p. 395.

<sup>6</sup> R. B. 266.



an error. It may have disappeared as completely as that of Rathard-craibe, or have another name.

The Berminghams held the tract called the Termon of Asdara, and probably a good deal of land southwards, and these seem to have been the only settlers.

From these facts it appears that the rest of Leyny was held by garrisons, and that no attempt was made at colonization on a large scale. The O'Haras rose when they had a chance in periods of general disorder, restrained by military occupation of castles in quiet times. Thus they were in possession all through, with Fitz Gerald or de Burgo as their lord instead of O'Connor. It is only in 1338 that they are said to have wrested Leyny and Corran from the English.<sup>1</sup> When Fitz Gerald was at war with his de Burgo lord, the O'Haras were naturally on the de Burgo side.

"A gift<sup>2</sup> from Gerald de Prendergast to David Fitz Maurice upon the cantred of the Coron in Connaught," and the inclusion of "the third part of the cantred of Coran, in Connaught," in a deed<sup>3</sup> by Amabill in favour of John Fitz Thomas, point to Gerald Prendergast as the original grantee, and to his having passed the estate to his intended son-in-law David Fitz Maurice. I find no David Fitz Maurice in the Offaley family at this time. The name occurs in Munster. David Fitz Maurice of the diocese of Cloyne had a dispensation from the Pope in regard to his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Gerald de Prendergast, in consequence of her having been betrothed to his deceased brother David.<sup>4</sup> It may be inferred that Maurice Fitz Gerald or his son acquired the land.

This cantred is not much noticed in the "Annals." It was held by chiefs of the Corcofirtri under the O'Haras until the Conquest. The Castle of Athingail is said to have been built in it in 1263, L. C., and the great Castle of Ballymote was built by Earl Richard in 1300, while John Fitz Thomas's lands were in his possession. O'Dobhailen is mentioned as king of Corann in 1248, L. C. Immediately after this period the Mac Donoghs appear as lords. They were at first lords of Tirerrill under Mac Dermot, and are first mentioned in 1318, L. C. There is no sign of settlement or colonization, only the record of building castles by Walter and his son Richard. The land was left to the Irish as far as we can judge. Yet when we compare the revenue of £333 from this manor with the revenue of the Loughrea manor, it is evident that the country, at least in the fourteenth century, was held so firmly, and peace was so well secured, that high rents were paid, whether by Irish or by English.

<sup>1</sup> F. M. 1250, 1261, 1266, 1269, 1278, 1316, 1335, 1338.

<sup>2</sup> R. B. 266.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 267.

<sup>4</sup> Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta*, Ep., No. 212, Pope Alexander IV., dated 12th October, 1259.

The territory of the Gregraike of the thirteenth century is defined with fair exactness by the bounds of the barony of Coolavin. As it does not appear in the Inquisition, it may have been held by knight service, but inasmuch as it was a part of the kingdom of the O'Haras and O'Garas, it is very likely to have been a part of the manor of Sligo.

The Castle of Moygara I take to be the Castle of Lough Techet, mentioned in the "Annals of Loch Cé" in 1256 as Richard Cuisin's Castle. The Cuisins were in Connaught in 1270, and the name occurs among the tenants of Admekin, fourteen years later. It is most likely that the O'Garas, abandoning the hope of recovering Sliabh Lugha, accepted the position of tenants under the English lord of Gregraike, and, after some resistance when circumstances were favourable, became tenants of the whole barony under an absentee Cuisin, or under the heir of one, and so had effective possession in 1338.<sup>1</sup>

The castle is somewhat like Ballintubber on a small scale, having small square castles at the corners, joined by curtain walls, enclosing 1 rood 6 perches. The masonry is good, of rough stones, with very little cut stone. It may well be a thirteenth-century castle, quite unlike the usual type of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century castles, and suited for a garrison to check petty raids.

The Gormanston Register<sup>2</sup> notes an undated charter of Richard de Burgo granting to Hugh Lacy, Earl of Ulster, five cantreds in Connaught. It was made about the time of the Conquest, as Maurice Fitz Gerald the Justiciary and Walter de Ridelesford witnessed it. The cantreds are not named, but there are two grants<sup>3</sup> by Earl Hugh to Maurice Fitz Gerald of Tirconnell and of Carbray Dromelif in Connaught.

In 1249 Stephen de Lungespee had recovered from Richard de Burgo the manor of Melok, by warranty of a third part of five cantreds of land as dower of his wife Emelina, and Richard gave him in exchange the manor of Tristelaurent.<sup>4</sup> Those are the only two that can be identified. He must have disposed of his cantreds at once, having his hands full with Ulster. Sliabh Lugha may have been one, because the wife of Miles Mac Costello, the first lord, is called a daughter of the Ultonian earl, and she must have been an illegitimate daughter of Hugh, or a daughter of John de Courcy (L. C. 1253).

Maurice built the Castle of Sligo in 1245. It was often destroyed or burnt by the Irish and rebuilt, finally by Earl Richard de Burgo in 1310, who made it a great fortress, so that Sir Henry Sidney described it thus in 1567:—"The castle is fair, and is the greatest of any that we have seen in any Irishman's possession."<sup>5</sup> Sligo was a good town and a port of considerable trade, as well as a most important position for dominating Leyny, Corran, and Carbury, and for action towards

<sup>1</sup> F. M. 1254, 1256, 1285.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS. Comm., 8th Report.

<sup>3</sup> R. B. 266.

<sup>4</sup> D. I. i., No. 3006.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, vol. xii., p. 22.

Tirconnell, and Fermanagh, and Brefne. The town survived to some extent until O'Donnell utterly ruined it in 1396, F.M. But no other colony appears in Carbury. The clan Andrias O'Connor submitted to a lord who could give some protection against O'Conors of Moy Ai on one side and O'Donnell on the other. It is quite certain that they were good subjects of the Fitz Gerald's and of the de Burgo Earls.

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#### NOTES ADDED IN THE PRESS.

*Clantagg.*—Clann Taidhg is associated with Tir-Maine and Soghan and Ui Diarmada in an entry under 1224 L. C., so that it should adjoin them. Soghan seems at this time to have meant only the parish of Ballymacward, as Sogoun is the name of that parish in the Taxation of 1306.

*Kilmore-ne-togher.*—It is more likely to be Abbeygrey, in Athleague parish, which is between the townlands of Kilmore and Togher. Abbeygrey is also called the monastery of Slenshancough.

In the second part of "Occupation of Connaught," where the cantred of Clantagg is mentioned, after the sentence—"The O'Kellys at this time were settled in the north of their kingdom upon the Sodhans"—insert the following:—

" 'The Annals of Loch Ce' associate Clann Taidhg with Tir Maine and Soghan and Ui Diarmada as suffering from a malignant shower in 1224. In the Taxation of 1306, Sagoun (Soghan?) is the name of a parish in the deanery of Othir, which I take to be Ballymacward, where O'Mannin lived. The name Soghan seems, then, to have been confined to a small area, where the Sodhans were still chiefs."

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The following abbreviations are used in references:—

- H. F. = O'Donovan, "Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach."
- H. M. = " " "Tribes and Customs of Hy Many."
- H. W. C. = Hardiman's edition of O'Flaherty's "West Connaught."
- D. I. = Sweetman, "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland," 1172–1307.
- D. K. = "Annual Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Ireland," Calendar of Fiants.
- R. B. = "Red Book of Earl of Kildare," in Hist. MSS. Commission, 9th Report, Appendix.
- L. C. = "Annals of Loch Cé" (Rolls Series).
- F. M. = " " the Four Masters" (O'Donovan's edition).
- O. S. L. = Ordnance Survey Letters.



NOTES ON THE OGAM-INSCRIBED STONES OF DONAGHMORE,  
CO. KILDARE, AND INISVICKILLANE, CO. KERRY.

BY PROFESSOR RHYS, M.A., D. LITT., HONORARY FELLOW.

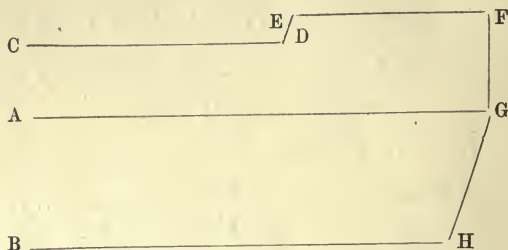
[Submitted MARCH 31, 1903.]

I.—THE DONAGHMORE OGAM, COUNTY KILDARE.

ONE day last September, I received a card from Mr. Cochrane, the indefatigable Secretary of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, to the effect that Lord Walter FitzGerald had discovered an Ogam in the neighbourhood of Carton, the residence of the Duke of Leinster; and shortly afterwards, the discoverer himself sent me a rubbing and a photograph of the stone, which enabled me at once to read most of the inscription. Later, namely on September 23rd, he took me to see the stone itself: it was at Donaghmore, a ruined church surrounded by an approximately circular burial-ground which is still used. Commonly it goes by the name of the farm on which it is situated, namely, Grange William. It is about a mile from Maynooth station, and just outside the demesne of Carton. The church, contrary to its name of Donaghmore, was a very small one, but there seems to be no doubt as to that being its name; and, to distinguish it from other churches of the same name, Lord Walter had identified it in the Martyrology of Donegal as *Domhnach mór Maighe Luadhat*, or Donaghmore of Maynooth. It is curious to find *Nuadat* changed there, and in Gorman's Martyrology, into *Luadhat*, which reminds one of *Lludd* in Welsh as an equivalent of *Nudd*, the regular representative in Welsh of *Nuada* in Irish. Who the *Nuada* was who gave its name of *May-Nooth* to the plain in which Donaghmore and Carton stand, it is perhaps impossible to discover, or even to decide whether he was a man or a god.

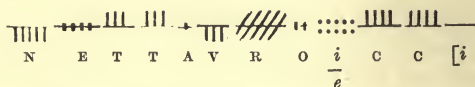
To come to the stone itself, it is described as limestone of a bad quality; and it measures along the edge with the second line of writing,  $30\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and the widest face is 15 inches across near the bottom or the beginning of the writing, while it is about 2 inches narrower near the top. The thickness is about 9 inches near the top, but only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  near the bottom; and it is the edges containing this narrower face that have the writing on them. I am glad to know that the stone has been placed under cover at Carton, for it is not of a nature to stand much weathering. Strange as it may seem, it was not safe even in the ground; for I noticed that a bit of the root of one of the yews had begun penetrating under a thin layer of the stone. So when I touched the bulging surface, it crumbled off and the dead root fell out: luckily it did not extend to the writing.

The left-hand edge consists for the most part of a long spawl of ancient date. The relative positions may be roughly indicated as follows:—

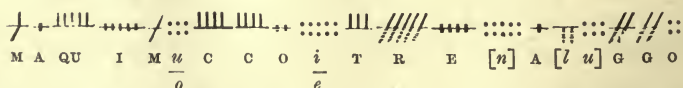


The wider face is contained by the edges  $AG$  and  $BH$ ; but it was not the one envisaged, so to say, by the Ogmist. He chose the narrower face contained by the edge  $AG$  and the spawl  $CD$ . In fact, he began to write on the edge of the spawl; and near  $D$  he got to the original edge, and finished the first part of his writing towards  $F$ . The rest of the writing he cut on the edge  $AG$ , so that he was working practically from left to right.

The first line of Ogams, consisting of  $CD$ ,  $DE$ , and  $EF$ , reads as follows:—



The scores mostly slope, especially those of the  $n$  and the  $v$ ; whereas the  $r$  is not far from being perpendicular, while the two  $t$ 's are of different lengths. The  $o$  is quite distinct; but the vowel notches on the transition line  $DE$  from  $CD$  to  $EF$  are gone, and it is impossible to say with certainty whether they were 5 or 4. In the next place, the two first scores of the first  $c$  are rather faint; but a little close attention convinced us that they are there. Lastly, the edge  $EF$  is rough and damaged, so that we could not exactly place the notches of the final vowel, which I take for granted to have been  $i$ . This would leave a space blank between it and the top of the stone, as one would expect. I have said enough to show beyond doubt that we have to deal with an early form of the genitive of the attested Irish name *Natfráich*, borne, for instance, by a King of Munster in the fifth century. The next line begins opposite the  $e$  of the *Netta*, and reads as follows:—



Here the first  $m$  is almost perpendicular on the  $H$  side: the other slopes a little more: the  $qu$  and the  $cc$  tend to spread out somewhat



THE DONAGHMORE OGAM STONE.

(From a Photograph by Lord Walter Fitz Gerald.)



like so many brooms: the first vowel of *muccoi* is not to be traced. There is room for *u*, but it may have been *o*. The *i* is also gone, and the notches may have made only *e*. The first score of the *r* has to be looked for, as it comes where there is a step in the stone; and as for the continuations of the *r* on the *Б* side, they have been lost by a flaking of the stone. That affects also the next consonant, of which one can only say that the space would do for *n*. The vowel *e* preceding it, and the *a* following it, are quite plain. Thus we seem to have to do with a name beginning with *trena*, like the *Trenacatus* occurring more than once in Ogams in Wales. In fact, I thought at first that this was actually the name here; but it will not fit. For according to the spelling of *Nettavoricci*, it should perhaps be written *Trenaccatto*[*s*], and even without the doubling and the final *s*, it would have extended beyond the corner. That is improbable, as no trace of any such a continuation of the inscription is to be found beyond the corner in either direction, towards *Р* or towards *Н*. There is even a greater difficulty: the *eo* is out of the question, partly for lack of room, and partly because there is no trace of any writing there—it must have been on the *Б* side. That is to say the consonant or consonants must belong to the group *b, l, v, s, n*, and the whole did not extend beyond the corner. We want accordingly a name of comparatively short spelling, beginning with *trena*. Now the number of compounds of *trena* is very small so far as I know, and the only other one which occurs to me is the *Trenalugos* incorporated in the genitive *Neta-Ttrenalugos* on one of the Monataggart stones in the Museum in Dublin. Now as to the spaces, the *lu* would find just room enough between the *a*, and the consonant scores which follow: these last incline like the *r*, and look like the left-hand halves of two *g*'s. The first two scores are longer and more sharply defined than the next two, which are not only shorter, but more ragged as the edge becomes worse. The stone shows no continuation now of any one of the four; and this we felt to be a difficulty, as we thought that the *Б* side was undamaged, at least opposite the first two of the oblique scores; but since then I have come to the conclusion that a bigger spawl is gone on that side than we imagined at the time. The vowel following should be *o*, of which no trace is to be expected; and as to the final *s* of the genitive, there is plenty of analogy for conjecturing that it was never there at all. I hardly think there would have been room for it; but this is one of the points on which I should be glad to learn from others, now that the stone is easy of access at Carton. The sum of these last guesses is that the ancestor's name was written on this stone *Trenaluggo*. I should, however, have preferred to regard what I have here treated as traces of a second *g* as being the notches for the vowel *o*; but I am not convinced that it is possible to treat them so, on account of their inclining parallel to the scores for the *g* preceding them, and because of their position on the *Н* face of the stone rather than right in the edge.

The later form of this name occurs in Gorman's Martyrology, June 3rd, as *Trianlugo*, the genitive of *Trianlug*; and from it one sees that our *Trenaluggo* means *Trēnaluggo*; and *Nettavoicci* is composed of a genitive *Netta*, which is supposed to mean 'a champion,' and *Vroicci*, a genitive, which became later *Fráich*, and *Fraoich*, from a nominative *Fraech* or *Fraoch*. The former occurs in one of the inscriptions at Rathcroghan, where it is spelled *Vraicci*: my notes and guesses, as to the Ogam containing it, have been printed in the *Journal*, 1898, pp. 230, 231, together with a correction at p. 409. The other day, the cave was visited by Prof. Bury, who, as the result of close inspection, confirms my readings. In the present case, however, it will be observed that the orthography is inconsistent with itself: it should have been either *Vroicci* with *cc = ch* and *mucoi* with *c = k*, or, vice versâ, *Vroici* and *muccoi*. The whole may be rendered thus: '[the place or the monument] of Natfraích, son of the kin of Trianlug.'

Lastly, in answer to the natural question how it is that this stone has not been noticed before, it is right to say that we found an easy key to its recent history: there is lichen on the bigger end of it, but that lichen reaches only far enough to cover the scores of the *n* of *Nettavoicci*: the rest of the stone is clean and must have been in the ground. That is to say, it formed probably the headstone of a grave; and, in fact, it stood, I have no doubt, only a yard or two away, where a little iron cross had been fixed to replace it, apparently not many months before.<sup>1</sup> That is doubtless where it was with only one group of the scores above ground, and nobody on earth could have been expected to notice it. Indeed, even as we saw it, with the writing exposed to view, I felt sure that it would not have caught my eye: the scores are hardly wider than the strokes one could produce in ink with an ordinary J pen. So the discoverer of it deserves all the more credit for his unerring habit of observation; and the history of this inscription points to the great importance of our local archæologists keeping a sharp look-out when any digging of graves or shifting of stones is going on in ancient burial-places in Ireland. From time to time more Ogams may be expected to be found in them; but I fear that to few is it given to have such a keen instinct for discovery as Lord Walter FitzGerald has shown in the case of *Domhnach mór Maighe Luadhath*.

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## II.—THE INISVICKILLANE STONE.

Brash, in his first reference to this stone (p. 110), after saying that Inisvickillane is one of the Blasket Islands, off Dunmore Head, on the

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<sup>1</sup> Since this was written, Lord Walter FitzGerald has sent me word as follows:—"I have since ascertained that the boulder marked the grave of a family named O'Farrell, who removed it about a year ago to make room for the granite block in which the little iron cross was fixed."

coast of Kerry, writes as follows:—"On it stands a rude cell or oratory, and in front of it a small Ogam pillar, on which is incised a plain rude cross." But as the stone has a cross on each of its four faces, I take it that it was lying on the ground three-fourths covered when Brash's informant saw it. A more detailed reference to it comes at p. 226, where it is said that it *lay* in front of a rude clochan, locally called St. Brandon's cell. He states also that the stone was discovered by Mr. Windele, who exhibited a rubbing of it at a meeting of the Cork Cuvierian and Archæological Society on January 3, 1849. The reading given makes *vndiabibo . . . t*, but I do not think that any rubbing of the stone would have yielded the whole of that lettering even then—especially the *d* and the *t*—as will be made clear presently. They came probably from Mr. Richard Hitchcock,<sup>1</sup> who was a gentleman employed by the late Bishop Graves to search for Ogams in the Blasket Islands, as the Bishop states in a paper on the *Croix Gammée* or swastica, which he published in April, 1879, in the *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxvii. (Polite Literature and Antiquities), pp. 41 *et seq.* The Bishop took the Ogam to contain the name of Maelcedair, after whom is called the Church of Kilmalkedar, near Smerwick harbour, in Corkaguiny, though such a name does not appear to emerge very clearly from the Ogam scores in the woodcut used by him to illustrate his paper. The block has been reproduced in Mr. Macalister's "Studies in Irish Epigraphy," Part II., p. 44, and he calls Hitchcock the author of the drawing. It is very neat and pretty, but it seems to me to have been produced largely from memory, and submitted to the rigid tyranny of the straight line. That the Bishop had misgivings to the same effect, I gather from his practically confining his paper to the swastica, and declining to go into the details of the inscription. The reading which the drawing yields is the same as that given by Brash,

<sup>1</sup> Richard Hitchcock was born near Tralee in 1824, and died in Dublin in December, 1856. At the time of his death he was Chief Clerk in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and Secretary of the Geological Society of Dublin. Constitutionally delicate, he passed a good deal of his early life wandering about the wilds of his native county of Kerry; he was an accurate observer, and became an enthusiastic collector. Early in 1847 he attracted the notice of Dr. Graves, who acknowledges (Proc. R. I. A., iv., p. 179) being indebted to him for the rubbings of over eighty Ogam inscriptions. There is in the Library, Royal Irish Academy, a MS. giving details of the sites and surroundings of all the Ogam stones which he had examined, but no inscriptions are recorded, as he regarded these as the property of Dr. Graves; nor did Hitchcock ever make any pretence to being an expert in Ogam writing. He presented the well-known Aglish Ogam stone and others to the Museum of the R. I. A. In Dr. Graves' papers on the Western Swastica (Trans. R. I. A., vol. xxix., pp. 31, 41) the drawing of the Aglish Ogam was made from the original, but the "pretty sketch" of the Inisvickillane Ogam was, to the best of my memory, drawn (from Hitchcock's rubbings) on the wood by O'Hanlon, and, from indistinct references on the rubbings, the crosses on the sides of the stone got wrongly placed. The Inisvickillane Ogam was first made known by Windele, who exhibited a rubbing in January, 1849, at Cork, from which rubbing it is nearly certain that Brash's reading was made.—E. P. W.



except that it suggests an *m*, more or less clearly, in both cases, for the *b* which Brash adopted. Lastly, it places the Ogams all on the wrong angle, or, in other words, it misplaces the crosses.

When Mr. Macalister visited the island in June, 1901, he found the stone "turned into a lintel for the ancient *cella*, in whose graveyard it used to stand." There seems to be no evidence of its *standing* at any time since 1849; but that was probably not intended to be emphasised by Mr. Macalister, who goes on to explain how badly the stone has been treated, and that his examination of it was unavoidably incomplete, owing to the masonry which stood in the way. What he was able to read was *VINDIA<sup>m</sup>IMA*, which so far as it goes agrees with Hitchcock's drawing as regards the consonants; but he fills in the first *i*, and reads *a*, not *o*, after the second *m*, as to both of which I am inclined to agree.

One day last autumn, Dr. Mahaffy sent me word that his friend Lord Cork, the proprietor of the island, had presented the stone to him, and that I could now study it in Trinity College, Dublin. About the end of September I was over in Dublin, and gladly spent some time in examining an Ogam which I had never expected to see. The edge which bears the scoring is the one that has the long-drawn swastica on the face to the left of it, and a simple cross on the face to the right. It is to be noticed that if the stone is set up so that the top of the crosses is uppermost, the inscription reads downwards and away from them, so to say. This raises the question, which of the two ends of the stone was originally in the ground—that is, if it was not meant to be placed in a horizontal position, which would necessarily leave one of the crosses concealed underneath. But I shall, for the sake of clearness, here treat the stone as if it stood erect on the end with the crosses.<sup>1</sup>

The following is my reading of the inscription:—

A V i v l A T I A M I M a [qu] i g d
  
n o

<sup>1</sup> The stone measures 3 feet 6 inches in height, and  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches by  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches at its base, tapering very slightly, and rather irregularly, as will be seen by the photographs and rubbings, to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches, at a distance of 7 inches from the top. At the top it is flaked off to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The stone is a laminated clay slate from the Lower Silurian beds, the surface of which is showing a tendency to split along the lines of stratification, and, as usual in stone of this formation, there is transverse cleavage, which will cause further disintegration. This could be arrested to some extent by the application of one of the silicate preparations used for indurating friable stone. There is a different kind of cross on each of the four faces. That on No. 1 is of the *crux ansata* type, or handled cross; but the most remarkable is that on face No. 3, where the *swastica* is assimilated to a cross as much as possible not only by its long perpendicular, but also by the position of its transverse arms. The cross has been described by the Rev. Dr. Graves in the *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy, Pol. Lit. and Ant., vol. xxvii., page 41. The rubbings were taken by permission of the Rev. Dr. Mahaffy.—[Ed.]

It may be briefly premised that the face to the left (No. 3), forming the H side of the Ogam, seems to have been long exposed, so that the scoring is nearly worn out; while the other face (No. 4), the B side, has hardly suffered



No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 3.

No. 4.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE FOUR FACES OF THE INISVICKILLANE INSCRIBED OGAM STONE.

in that way at all. The damage there is of a different kind: a flake of the surface is gone near the broken top of the stone. The vowel-notch before the *v* of *avi* is very close to it and partly damaged, but it is distinctly there.



I notice that, on this stone, the notch next preceding a consonant is nearer to that consonant than the next following is to it, with the exception of the case of the doubtful *mo* towards the end. The scores for *v* and *l* are



No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 3.

No. 4.

RUBBINGS OF THE FOUR FACES OF THE INISVICKILLANE INSCRIBED OGAM STONE.

(Reduced from Rubbings by Mr. Cochrane.)

not widely separated ; and it would, if necessary, be possible to read *n*. The *t* is worn down, leaving nothing but the ground of the grooves of the three scores ; but they are exact and unmistakable ; and much the same



remark applies to what remains of the *g*, which has lost its continuations on the B side. I thought also that I traced slight indications of some of the scores of the *qu*; but I could not identify any of the notches for the *i* that should follow: *maqui* would fit in better than *mocoi*, though it would perhaps be possible to get the latter in by a little crowding. But I am not satisfied that the vowel after the *m* is *o* rather than *a*: the first gap in the edge is probably the result of accident and not a part of the writing: it is rather minute and too near the *m*. The rest of the spacing is against its being regarded as a vowel-notch at all. I ought to have said that the *m* itself is not very perfect; though it can hardly be said to be doubtful. The stone is somewhat slaty and liable to split, though not always into clean flakes, and I may mention that there is just a trace of a long split running along the  $\pi$  face of the stone at no great distance from the inscribed edge, and terminating downwards opposite the base of the *vl*. I cannot trace across that crack the scores of the *t*, owing probably to their faintness; but the first *m* boldly crosses it some way. I should infer the same of the *qu*, but the imperfect *g* is bounded by it, which proves that the present edge of that part of the stone is not original, and that a flake is gone off the B side near the top. In its deepest part, it may have been fully  $\frac{1}{2}$ th of an inch thick. There is an unevenness on the B side at the base of the *qu*; and it is there probably the flake thinned out to zero. No trace of a consonant on the  $\pi$  side is to be found after the imperfect *g*, the inclination of which fixes its identity in my opinion. There is otherwise no objection to *d*, for one has no hope of guessing the name. So what consonants belonged to the name beginning with the Ogam in question must have been on the B side; where they were carried away on the lost flake, the first part of some such a genitive as *Glasicunas* or *Gossuettias* would fit. How much of the top of the stone is gone I cannot tell, for such as it is now, it is jagged and irregular.

As to the formation of the Ogam generally, they are neat and fine; but the man who cut them worked with a comparatively long-edged tool, such as a hatchet or a knife, not with a pointed one; so his work reminds one rather of the movements of a saw, for he could evidently not end his grooves short of the actual edge, where they become deeper and wider than further off. In the latter direction, too, they betray a tendency to become very fine and to spread out somewhat like a broom. The stone has on it more traces of writing than I have described; for though it has not often been examined by an Ogmist, it has been the victim of other visitors, as to whom Mr. Macalister speaks as follows:—"Unfortunately among the natives of Coumeenoole who visit the island for devotional or other purposes, it has become a fashion to scratch *graffiti* on the exposed surfaces of the stone, and it is considerably disfigured." Nor is this all, for some of those who have not been conspicuously successful in leaving their names behind them seem to have thought that they could at

any rate score in Ogam, and at once tried it: their work looks quite fresh. Thus there are two of these scores some distance below *avi*; then there is one opposite the beginning of the *t*; another drawn from the 4th notch of the *i* of *vlati*; and another opposite the *a* of *ami*, but not joining it. If I am not mistaken, they are all on the B side, showing that it offered the most convenient surface to work upon. But I am happy to say that the alarm which Mr. Macalister's words caused me proves to be to some extent exaggerated. I cannot find that any part of the inscription seen by Windele or Hitchcock has since disappeared. At the same time, the stone does not appear to have been removed from the island a day too soon, not to mention another consideration which is very present to my mind, and it is this. Had I been landed on the island, I feel certain that I could not have read the Ogam—it would have been a case of one eye on the stone and the other on the rolling billows. Visions of a night or a week of exposure would not leave me in the best of humours for studying Ogams or anything else. Something of the kind must have been actually Mr. Hitchcock's state of mind, for he appears to have sketched the stone very hurriedly, and filled in the rest from a memory which left room for subsequent errors. How far Mr. Macalister suffered from the same kind of mental sea-sickness I do not know; but I cannot help observing that his visit to the Blaskets was attended with less than his usual share of success. At any rate, no more unfavourable conditions for close study of Ogams can well be conceived, unless they happen to involve the presence of the whole body of an antiquarian society after a champagne lunch.

Dismissing all the difficulties of that class, I come now to those of another, the interpretation of what remains of the writing, namely, *Avi Flatiāmi Ma[qui] G . . . .* This may be rendered "The Monument of Vlatiam's Descendant, son of G . . . .," or, as one may venture to put it more briefly, "Of O'Flathimh, son of G . . . ." The man interred was probably the head of the clan, that is, he was O'Flathimh *par excellence*; and to distinguish him from his predecessors, his father or mother's name was added. Had we the remainder of the stone, the whole would have been probably more intelligible. At any rate, as it is, it yields only a single proper name, but that happens to be one which is new, in the sense that it has never been met with before in Ogam; and it sheds most welcome light on an interesting question of Goidelic phonology. *Flathim* or *Flaithim* occurs as the medieval genitive of *Flathem*; and we have it in the pedigrees in the Book of Leinster several times (see fo. 317<sup>as</sup>, 323<sup>b</sup>, 336<sup>b</sup>); and the names 'mac Flaithem' and 'mic Laithem' occur on fo. 339<sup>b1</sup>, 339<sup>b2</sup>; but these have possibly to be corrected into *Flaithen* and *Flaithen*, which occurs on fo. 340<sup>a</sup>, and appears in the family name O'Laithen in the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters, A.D. 1054, 1062, 1080, 1086, 1087, 1089. Similarly we have O'Laithim as a patronymic in the same Chronicles, A.D. 1260 and 1343. Under the latter year, the

Four Masters record the death of *Iohannes O'Laithimh*, bishop of Killala, and Dr. MacCarthy has, in the Irish of the Ulster Annals, *Iohannes Ollaitim*, which he prints in the English, on the opposite page, as "John O'[Fh]laitim.<sup>1</sup> O'Donovan, in his translation, Englishes it *O'Laithimh*, and appends the following note: "This name is now usually anglicised Lahiff, but some have rendered it Guthrie, from an erroneous notion that it is derived from *lathaigh*, i.e., of the slough or puddle." Leaving them to rejoice in the puddle of their preference, I now come to the other instance in the Four Masters, namely, *Domhnall ua fflaithimh*, "Donnell O' Flahiff," to which O'Donovan has appended the following note: "This name is now pronounced as if written O'Flaithimh, and anglicised Lahiff. This family is now respectable in the neighbourhood of Gort, in the south of the County of Galway." I may add that when travelling near Castlemaine in Kerry some years ago, I was much exercised by a place-name which I heard some peasant women use. I took it down as Mo-Lahiff, and was delighted when I came home to find that it occurs in the Four Masters, A.D. 1581, where O'Donovan has the note: "Magh-Laithimh, i.e., Lahiff's plain, now Mo-lahiff, a townland in which stood a castle belonging to a respectable sept of the MacCarthys, situated near the village of Castlemaine, in the barony of Magunihy, and county of Kerry."

Having found traces of the family in the country from Gort to the Blaskets, and having followed the name down to its most modern form, I wish to show how it derives from that in the Ogam; and first let me point out that it is not to be confounded with *flaithem*, 'a prince,' genitive *flaithemon*, from which seems to come a patronymic which I only know in its anglicised spelling of *O'Flahavan*. These names, together with a good many compounds, derive from the abstract feminine *flaith*, which, in Old Irish, meant *potestas*, *dominus*, and made in the genitive *flatha*, for an early nominative *vlati-s* and genitive *vlati-as*, respectively. We cannot, however, treat *Vlatiam*- as *Vlatiam*-; for the *i* would have disappeared according to the usual analogy, and we should have *Flatham*. So our vocable was more nearly *Vlatiami*; and ultimately the *i* + *a* resulted in *e* in the same way, perhaps, as in the declension of a word like *céle*, 'companion,' from an early Goidelic, *cēli-as*. The Welsh equivalent *cilydd*, 'companion,' would seem to show that the Goidelic was more exactly *celiās* with a more or less consonantal *i* or *y* in the hiatus.

What was the corresponding consonant in *Vlatiami*? One may say that in the last resort it was probably *h*, into which a more original *s* had been widened according to the usual rule: we should thus have a series *Vlatisamas*, *Vlatihiamh*, *Vlathiamh*, *Vlathemh*, *Flathersh*, *Flaitheamh*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The uncertainty as to the *f* is well illustrated by the fact that O'Flaherty and O'Laverty represent the same Irish patronymic, *Ua Flaithbheartaigh*. O'Laverty looks as if it set out from *Ui* (the genitive singular, or the nominative plural), which requires the *f* coming after it to be "aspirated" into zero.

<sup>2</sup> The modern spelling would be *Flaitheamh*; and if we may treat the medieval spelling as less exact in its vowels, we might, perhaps, regard the *a* as having never



When the *t* became *th* is hard to say, but probably about the same time as *s* became *h*; and when *m* became the *v* sound written in Modern Irish *mh* is perhaps a harder question still. I do not pretend to settle these questions; but I may remark that very possibly the intervocalic *h* was sounded in our *Vlatiam*-, though not written. The question is a very difficult one, as anybody will find who will take the trouble to read Pedersen's *Aspirationen i Irsk*, pp. 124-146.

The name *Vlatisamas*, genitive *Vlatisami*, which has just been postulated, would fall naturally into line with such as *Rigisamos*, the name of a god equated with Mars in an inscription found in Somersetshire, and another in the neighbourhood of Bourges (see the Berlin *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, vii. 61, xiii. 1190); and with *Belisama*, the name of a goddess equated with Minerva; also of a river supposed to be the Mersey: see Holder's *Altcelt. Sprachschatz* s. v. *Belisama*, where he mentions one or two more instances in point. There is some doubt as to the meaning of the latter portion of these names. They look very like Celtic superlatives; but they may be merely compounds with an element *sam* cognate with the Irish *sam*, Welsh *haf*, 'summer.' In that case *Rigi-samos* would mean 'summer-king,' and so would *Samo-riz* (*Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, xiii. 2615), consisting, as it does, of the same elements in the other order. Such a name may be taken to have meant him who took the lead in the summer expeditions of his tribe. Compare the old Norse *sumarlidi*, 'a wicking or a rover'; whence *Somarled*, the name borne by a twelfth-century king of Argyle, now reduced in its English spelling to *Sorley*. Much the same would be the interpretation of our *Vlatiam*-, provided it represents an earlier *Vlati-sama-s*, as it would analogously mean him who has authority in summer; that is, the leader of his tribesmen's expeditions. The insular situation of the stone would suggest expeditions by sea, like those which the *Classis Somarlidiorum* used to pay at one time to the coasts of these islands every summer. The goal of such expeditions from the South of Ireland may be, with the help of Gildas, readily guessed to have been the western seaboard of Britain. But they must have begun centuries before the time of that saint, and become a national practice long before such a name as *Vlatiam* can have been formed in allusion to them. This follows, of course, only in case the foregoing interpretation is approximately correct. For it is not to be disguised that the name lends itself to other etymologies and other explanations. I have merely chosen the conjecture which seems to me to offer the fewest difficulties, especially of phonology, which is the only guide one can have where the facts of history are so conspicuous by their absence. As far as the Ogam is concerned, there is nothing to prevent our assigning it to the fifth century; but it may, perhaps, be older.

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disappeared altogether from the pronunciation. Then also the changes would appear in harmony with the general rule that *i* preceding an *a* becomes *e*, as follows:—*Vlatisamas*, *Vlathehamh*, *Flatheamh* or *Flaitheamh*. The case would be analogous with *céle*, from a nominative *cēllias*.

## Miscellanea.

**Note on Maghera, Co. Derry.**—In the *Journal* for 1902 (vol. xxxii., p. 320) the Rev. Joseph M'Keefry, C.C., M.R.I.A., questions the accuracy of the derivation of the name Maghera as quoted by me. This is only of secondary importance; the object I had in view was to direct the attention of the Society to some remains of archæological interest that I was fortunate enough to discover some twelve years previously whilst exploring this district. I had then the honour of first bringing before the Society several interesting remains, amongst which were the cromlech at Tyrnoney, the Sweat House at Tyrkane, and the fine bullaun at the old Church of Killylagh.<sup>1</sup>

The Society, on the occasion of their late visit, had the pleasure of examining these remains of our ancient civilization.

Regarding the place-name, Maghera, I followed, in my sketch, our first living Irish authority, Dr. P. W. Joyce. I was aware of the reading given by the Rev. Mr. Sampson, which is known to all writers on this subject since his day, but never seriously considered.

Since this article appeared I wrote to Dr. Joyce about it. He says in his reply:—"The origin of the name in its several forms was a noted Rath which was taken possession of by Saint Lurach, or, more probably, the Chief whom he converted made him a present of it—a circumstance very usual in those times. From the Saint it was called Rath Luraigh, or Rathlowry, viz. Lurach's Rath; the other final development was that the surrounding level land was called Machaire-Ratha, as Colgan records for us. This 'Machaire-Ratha' is a simple Irish compound (so obvious as not to bear argument)—meaning *the plain of the rath*."

Principal Rhys, Professor of Celtic in Oxford, to whom I also wrote, in reply to my queries, says:—"1st. I know nothing of an Irish word 'Nadhra,' meaning 'solemn vespers,' or anything else. The nearest word that occurs to me is Nathair, 'a snake, adder, viper, serpent.' 2nd. Even supposing there ever was such a word as Nadhra, solemn vespers, it is quite impossible phonetically to derive Maghera from such a form. 3rd. He has supplied excellent proof of the correctness of your account of the name by citing the spelling Magherira and Magheragh; also by producing the lines of verse, and showing that the last syllable was accented all through. So you have only to read his last sentence but one with 'disprove' instead of 'prove,' and the case is quite correctly stated as between Mr. M'Keefry and you."

The late Rev. George Hill, in his Plantation Papers, states:—"The northern half barony of Coleraine was in the olden days designated Machaire, or Maghera, 'the plain lying between the mountains of

<sup>1</sup> This bullaun had disappeared when the Society visited the place, but inquiry having been made, it was found to have been built in the wall enclosing the old church.

Benevenagh and the river Bann. The greatest length of this plain is 17 miles, whilst the breadth varies from 2 to 9 miles. Its northern boundary is the Atlantic, and its southern the barony of Loughinsholin (Lough-Inish-o-Lynn). On the east it is bounded by the County Antrim, and on the west by the barony of Keenaght.' Maghera is situated within the bounds of this ancient territory, and the Rath in which the church was built was correctly designated by Machaire-Ratha."

Reeves, in his work, "The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore," at page 27, note c, on the Parish of Rath, by which name Maghera, in the diocese of Down, was then designated, gives a note of the celebrated Irish scholar and antiquary, Colgan. Reeves writes as follows:—"Church of Rath, now Maghera Parish, Ordnance Survey S. 43.—The original name of this parish was Rath-Murbhuilg; afterwards, as in the Taxation, simply Rath, and subsequently with a prefix, Machaire-Ratha. Thus Colgan, 'Ecclesia, prisceis Rath-Murbhuilg, hodie Machaire-Ratha appellata,' Act. SS., p. 743, col. 2. A.D. 1610, 'Magheryragh, *alias* Rathra,' Rot. Pat. 8 Jac. I. 'Matherira'—*Terrier*. 'Magherera'—*Ul. Vis*. The name now appears in the contracted form 'Maghera.' Thus the name Rathlury, in the diocese of Derry, has lost its characteristic component, and by a similar process become Maghera." We have on the side I quoted Colgan, Reeves, Joyce, and Rhys; the word Nadhra is never once mentioned by or known to any of these scholars, so that it is quite evident that I have given the correct rendering.—S. F. MILLIGAN, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

**Irish Seals in the British Museum.**—It may be interesting to some of our members to know that the following seals, or impressions from them, can be seen in the British Museum, London. During a recent visit to the MS. Department I found notices of the following connected with Ireland, and it is probable there may be others, which the time at my disposal did not permit me to notice:—

XV. Century.—Donat Macmuracha Da (*sic*), King of Leinster. (No. 17,335.)

1681. James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, K.G.

Theobaldus de Verdun, 7th Baron, Constable of Ireland; also of Theobald, the 8th Baron (p. 363).

Of ECCLESIASTICAL SEALS, I noticed the following:—

The Chapter Seal of the Diocese of Emly, sixteenth or seventeenth century. (From the Royal Irish Academy.)

1338. Richard Francis, Bishop of Waterford.

1426-1468. John Mothell, Bishop of Limerick. (From the Royal Irish Academy.)

1292. John de Saunford, Archbishop of Dublin.

1431. Richard Talbot.



1698. Peter Creagh, Vicar-Apostolique.  
 1690. William King.  
 1698. Edward Smyth.  
 XIV. Century.—Walter de Myn, Archdeacon.  
 1464. Richard Lang, Bishop of Kildare.  
 1674. Ambrose Jones, Seal of the Court.  
 1267. Geoffrey de St. Leger, Bishop of Ossory.  
 1494. Lawrence Neville, Bishop of Ferns.  
 1566. John Devereux.  
 1552. John O'Hinalan, Bishop of Kilfenora.  
 1661. Dean and Chapter Seal, Armagh.  
 1398. Peter, Bishop of Clonmacnoise. (Irish manufacture.)  
 XIV. Century.—Seal of the Clergy, Kilmore.  
 1410. John, Bishop of Dromore.  
     Dean and Chapter, Cathedral of St. Eunan, Raphoe.  
 1322. Bishop of Annaghdown, Tuam. (Cotton.)  
 1377. Thomas Barrett, Bishop of Elphin.  
 XIV. Century.—David, Dean of Kilmacduagh. (From the Royal  
     Irish Academy.)

#### MONASTIC SEALS.

- XVII. Century.—Ballinrobe, County Mayo.  
 XIV. Century.—Abbey of St. Peter and Paul, Clones, County  
     Monaghan. Frater John Uecogihu, Abbot.  
 1267. G. Prior of Kenlis, or Kells, County Kilkenny.  
 1494. John Soloun, Abbot, Cistercian Abbey of B. V. Mary, Tintern,  
     County Wexford.

Also the following Local Seals:—

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|------------------|-----------------|
| 1494. Clonmines. | 1719. New Ross. |
| Drogheda.        | 1792. Youghal.  |
| Dublin.          |                 |

P. D. VIGORS (*Colonel*).

**Finds at Edenvale, County Clare.**—At the British Association in Belfast, Mr. Richard Ussher stated that the committee appointed to explore Irish caves had carried on works during the late summer for eleven weeks at Edenvale, County Clare. There were two systems of caves excavated, both proving to be very prolific in relics of man and extinct animals. There were found bones of Irish elk, reindeer, bear, the last of unusual size, besides domestic animals. The human relics comprised (besides bones, a nearly perfect skull, and charcoal) scrapers of flint, bone awls and pins, amulets, pierced shells, and teeth. Of more advanced culture were an amber bead, a bronze bracelet of about the beginning of our era; a small gold bracelet, a bronze strap and buckle with an ornamental design in silver and (in the topmost layer) two iron daggers. The caves are of complex plan, especially the one under the

house, which had two entrances with galleries running westward, and at least four cross-galleries running north and south; the galleries are all natural, and were deeply filled with earth.—T. J. WESTROPP.

**Copyhold Tenure in Ireland.**—In the Report of the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland for the year 1877 there is a notice of the Manor of Kilmoon, which is stated to be the only estate in Ireland held by a copyhold tenure. It was granted by the Crown to the Archbishop of Armagh in 1614. The nature of the tenure was:—That tenants hold their lands at a small quit-rent, payable half-yearly. On every change of tenancy, whether by death or transfer, it was necessary to surrender the lands to the steward of the manor, who was the servant of the lord. The incoming tenant paid a fine amounting to double the full annual value of the holding vacated, and on payment was formally admitted as tenant by the steward, who recorded the admission on the Court roll, a copy of which was the tenant's title to the land. Of the sixteen copyholders on the estate, twelve are stated to have purchased, or to have agreed to purchase, their holdings at the date of the Report.—WILLIAM C. STUBBS.

**Rapparees.**—The following, from old Dublin newspapers, may prove of interest:—*Dublin Intelligence*. No. 35. Tuesday, May 19, to Tuesday, May 26, 1691. May 17.—On Friday last Captain Hugh Massey, a Captain of the Militia of Co. Limerick, with a small party of the garrison of Shanbally Duff, went beyond the Line, where they met with seventeen Rapparees, of whom they killed eight, and put the rest to flight. In this action Mr. Vandelure, who was one of the party (and being the first that espied them charged them singly before the rest could come up), behaved himself with great courage and bravery, as also did Captain Massey and the rest, and brought back with them a prey of cattle and several arms.

**Forcible Abduction.** (*Dublin Intelligence*, May 27, 1707.)—Whereas the 18th day of April last pursuant Margaret Mac Nemarra, a young Gentlewoman about 13 years of age, small of stature, the only Daughter of John Mac Nemarra, late of Crattellagh, in the County of Clare, Esqre., deceased, was in a violent and extraordinary manner against her Consent forced and carried away from her mother by one John O'Brien, with several other armed Men in his Company, and carried from Place to Place in such manner that her Friends, notwithstanding all their Endeavours, cannot inform Themselves where she is; but is suppos'd to be concealed in some part of the Province of Connaught. This is to give Notice that such person as shall Rescue the said Margaret Mac Nemarra, and secure her until she may be conveniently sent for by her friends, and gives notice thereof to Mrs. M. Mac Nemarra, the Mother at her House in Limerick, or unto Mr. G. Waller, an Attorney in Dublin, shall have a Reward of Twenty Guineas.—J. WARDELL.

## Notices of Books.

[NOTE.—The works marked thus (\*) are by Members of the Society.]

\**Studies in Irish Epigraphy*: a Collection of revised Readings of the Ancient Inscriptions of Ireland, with Introduction and Notes. By R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A. Part II., 117 pp., 8vo. (London: Nutt, 1902.)

THIS most welcome volume is devoted to the Ogam inscriptions of the Counties of Kerry (not included in Part I.), Limerick, Cavan, and King's County, as well as the Ogam inscriptions of the Irish type in Scotland and the Isle of Man, with an Appendix on the Ogam tablets of Biere, in Saxony. The first part contained only 52 inscriptions, while the present volume brings the number up to 127, not to mention that it opens with revised readings of several of the Ogams included among the previous 52. This, let me observe in passing, is an excellent feature of Mr. Macalister's work: he shows himself quite willing to reconsider his readings, and, if necessary, to revise them. No other attitude is, in fact, possible for any man who values accuracy above all seeming infallibility. The first thing, of course, is to get the Ogams correctly read, and experience has taught me that something is usually gained by studying the more blurred and weather-worn of them repeatedly and leisurely; it sometimes results in the reduction, at any rate, of the area of doubt; and the more students who try it the better. But this is, perhaps, rather cruel to Mr. Macalister, who pens his preface at Jerusalem: it is to be hoped, however, that he is not going to listen too long to the voice of the siren of Palestinian Exploration.

At all events, the author must have made excellent use of his last stay in this country, as is proved, among other things, by the appearance in print now for the first time of several Ogams which are quite new to me as well, probably, as to most of the readers of the *Journal*. One of these comes from Valencia Island, another from the neighbourhood of Cahirciveen, and a third from Dromlusk, near Sneem—all in the county of Kerry, and all traced by Mr. Macalister by means of the Papers of the late Bishop of Limerick, to whose memory and that of Father Edmond Barry the volume is most appropriately dedicated. The reading of the last of the three stones to which I allude is given as *Catvrrr maqi Luguwvee[a]*, which is remarkable in that we have the combination *tvv* by the side of *guvv*, on which Mr. Macalister makes a remark. The names are supposed to analyse themselves into *Catu-vrrr* and *Lugu-vvee*,



which would suggest a parallel treatment in point of pronunciation and spelling; not to mention that in another inscription the former name is known to read *Cattuvvirr*, which, by the way, it is impossible to equate with *Catabar*.

The Dromlusk stone has, besides the peculiarity of spelling which has just been pointed out, a detail which Mr. Macalister regards as unique among Ogam monuments. He describes it as follows:—

“This is a circle  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, cut in the centre of its eastern face. There is also a curved mark, 25 inches below the circle; these marks are both shown in the accompanying photographic view. The form of this symbol, and its occurrence on the eastern face of one of two stones in approximate north and south alignment, are so strongly suggestive of solar symbolism that it is impossible to avoid explaining it in some such manner, although such tempting theories are not without risk. If this be an admissible interpretation, we have a highly important co-existence of Ogham writing and pagan symbolism; for that the circle and the scores are contemporary is demonstrated by the similarity of their technique. The wheel-Ogham at Logie, in which the scores are cut on the circumference of the circle, may perhaps be worth remembering in considering the Dromlusk monument.”

This reminds one of the researches of Sir Norman Lockyer and Lord Southesk: the latter would have something to say on the subject also of Ogams as amulets, which is discussed in a suggestive manner in connexion with the Glenfahan Ogam, p. 38, which the author reads LMCBDV: I have read it somewhat differently, and given it up as a puzzle, which, however, Mr. Macalister's theory goes some way to explain. He speaks of it as follows:—

“That this inscription had a meaning of some sort to its engraver may be accepted as axiomatic; but it seems hopeless for us to attempt to unravel its interpretation. The letters may be the initials of the words composing some formula; they may be the consonantal skeleton of a word whose vowels are omitted; or they may be substituted for others by some cipher or cryptographic system . . . Though the specific meaning of the inscription is thus beyond our reach, we may, with little hesitation, come to one general conclusion about it—namely, that it is an occult or magical formula of some kind. This conclusion is pointed to by the amber bead from Ennis, now in the British Museum, described later in this volume. The inscription when read retroversely is *lmcbltm*, which is nearly identical with that on the stone; and, as will be seen in the article, the magical properties of the amulet were traditional down to the middle of the nineteenth century.”

This view seems so reasonable that it hardly requires to be supported by an appeal to the discoveries at Biere, in Saxony, which, according to the author, consist of a large hoard of magical tablets, “among which are certain words which if not written in Ogham are in some character

indistinguishable from it." I have looked at the drawings, but I am puzzled what to make of them: of course the first question which they suggest is the simple one, Are the tablets genuine?

Another of the suggestive conjectures in the book is the one which concerns mutilated Ogams. As for myself, I have not yet been able to give it the consideration which it deserves; but the following passages *à propos* of one of the Ballinrannig stones, reading, *Cuna magqi Corbbi magq-[i mucoi . . . ] as*, will make it clear what the author means:—

"Now it is very curious that tribal names are so often mutilated or destroyed on Ogham stones; and we may possibly detect in this fact traces of intertribal jealousies. In this stone the inscription is perfect till we reach the word *mucoi*, and it is then violently flaked and spalled: the same is true of the other Ballinrannig stone (No. III), which bore a tribal name. Though the whole Ballinrannig series is rather difficult to read, these two are the only injuries that cannot be assigned to gradual weather- or water-wear. Again, the Ballymoreereigh stone (25) is fractured short in the middle of the word *mucoi*, and the Rathmalode monument (46) has also lost its tribal name. That all the *mucoi Dovinia* stones have preserved their eponymous name may be accounted for on the obvious theory that the tribe of Duben, being strong in their own territory, were presumably able to protect their tribesmen's tombstones. . . . It is true that the tribal name is frequently on the top of the stone, which is the part most exposed to injury; but it will be found on comparing proportions that the top of a stone is more likely to display injury if it bore a name preceded by *mucoi*; and such an objection is not valid in the frequent case (of which the present is an example) of the name being flaked off the side of a stone."

He then lays it down as a working hypothesis "that the tribesmen of one clan had no hesitation in destroying the name of a rival clan, and frequently did so, *though perhaps leaving intact the names of individual members of the opposing family*." He adds that it follows "that when an inscription containing a tribal name remains intact, it probably stands in the ancient territory of the tribe to which it belongs." The weakness of this theory, if there is any, betrays itself in the clause which I have put into italics. Why should a hostile clan have spared the names of their proximate foes and gone for the shadowy ancestor in the background? Now the few instances (about a dozen in all) in which *ave* (genitive *avi*) "descendant" precedes the ancestor's name, show no tendency to have that name damaged or destroyed. So it is possible that the objection was to the description of the descent as *maqui mucoi Toicaci*, or whatever the final vocable might be. I have elsewhere tried to prove that this would represent a man as son of the kin or clan of Toicac, as it were *filius generis Toicaci*, which points back to paternity being at one time almost more uncertain than even in the state of things described by Cæsar, v. 14,

when he wrote of the people of Britain: "Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis"—a notorious passage which I need not reproduce at length. Nothing seems more natural than that after a people brought up in that kind of social system became Christians, their descendants should feel ashamed of such a ménage, and go so far at times as to efface the record of it on their tombstones. Possibly the missionaries of the Church would do it for them, whether they themselves would or not.

Mr. Macalister's readings frequently differ from mine; but in some of those cases I am certain to be wrong, and in some of them I am convinced that neither of us has as yet got the original correctly—they require to be scrutinized again. Nor can I always agree with him in his interpretation of the Ogam and his notes on the proper names met with. Thus the symbol X, to which I ascribe the value of *p*, he treats as *k*, which leads him into rather a tight place when he has to treat one of the Whitefield inscriptions as *Gosocte asmosac mak Ini*. My account of it will be found in the *Journal* for 1902, vol. xxxii., p. 24; but I have since then found reasons for believing that *mosac* meant servant or attendant, like the Irish *gille*, or the *celi* of *Celi Battigni* on another of the Whitefield stones. By no phonological alchemy, I may remark, can one from this name extract *Celibatt* as a form of *Colabot*. I wonder also whether we have not a word of personal meaning like *mosac* and *celi* in the *locid* of the Droumatouk inscription, as to which I must plead guilty to having tempted Mr. Macalister to enter on a doubtful path; but he has not followed it very far. To return to another of the Whitefield stones, he should hardly treat *Nocati* as a form of *Dunocati*. In any case we have now to accept *Nocati* as a real name: see *Journal*, vol. xxxii. (1902), p. 298, where the editor has published the forgotten reading of the Donegal Ogam lost at Clonca: it will be a disgrace to the local archæologists if they do not discover the stone itself. I cannot agree with the author in his treatment of the Camp stone, which he reads in Ogam *Conu-Nett moqi Conu-Ri*, and in Irish letters *RECT CUNURI*. It seems to me impossible to believe that *moqi* must on account of its *o* be "analysed into *mocui* and equated to the more usual *mucoi*." The vowels of the Ogmist here in question were peculiar, for he wrote *Conu* twice for what would elsewhere have been *Cuna* or *Cona*; so I have no doubt that his *moqi* meant the word which others wrote *maqi*.

A word now as to the other writing, which appears to have been discovered by Sir Samuel Ferguson, and read by him with some hesitation *RECI* (or *FECIT*) *CUNUNI*. When I saw the stone, in 1883, I well remember my disappointment at not being able to discover that bit of Latin: I could see various traces of writing on the stone and one or two little crosses, but not what Sir S. Ferguson had found. In 1898,



however, my wife and I spent some time scrutinizing the surface of the stone, and she, having better eyes than I have, found the vanishing script: we might, doubtless, have done so sooner had we had or understood Sir Samuel's indication of its position "on the upper face of the block, in a direction contrary to the course of the associated Oghams." My own note made this last time is, that it is not far from the beginning of the Ogam, and that it runs parallel to the Ogam, but in the contrary direction. It is so minute and insignificant that I do not think it has anything to do with the Ogam, and I cannot be sure that the letters are of "a very early type." The best guess we could make came to this—pectan bñp; but the first letter may be an p, or even an r, and the third may be a t; the fifth is a minuscule a, followed by a capital x. The next word is abbreviated, consisting of a minuscule b and n, followed by a tall s of the gamma kind: it may be an i, but we did not think so. Partly over the b and the n there is a line to indicate contraction; but what the word intended can have been is not clear to me: I could think of nothing more suitable than *benedictus*, or else *Britannicus* or *Britannus*, though I should have preferred *Britto*. In case the reading *Pectan* is corroborated by further scrutiny, I may remark that it occurs in Wales in the corresponding form *Peithan* in "Inis Peithan" in the "Book of Llandaff"; but it is right to mention also that *Petan* and *Rechtán* occur as Irish names. I have dwelt on the Camp monument so long, as it is a good instance of one that requires further examination.

A few things, which I consider blemishes, have been mentioned; but I consider the value of Mr. Macalister's work as hardly affected by them; and I sincerely hope that the Holy Land will be able to spare him to go on with his studies in Irish Epigraphy. Let us hope also that his vigorous example may induce others to turn their attention to this very difficult subject: the more men, with good eyes in their heads, who will study the old monuments, the more likely we are to have those monuments correctly read.

J. RHYS.

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\* *History of the Warren Family: A History and Genealogy of the Warren Family in Normandy, Great Britain and Ireland, France, Holland, Tuscany, United States of America, &c.* (A.D. 912–1902). With numerous Pedigrees. By the Rev. Thomas Warren, F.R.S.A., Ireland. Printed for private circulation, 1902. Copies can be obtained from the Author, 29, Gipsy Hill, Norwood, London. Price 11s.

THE author of this History of the Warrens has accumulated an immense amount of interesting details about the pedigrees and connexions of this great and widely-dispersed family. The cradle of the race, still in existence, is near the village of Garenne, only a short distance from Dieppe,

and lying on the banks of the Garenne, or Varenne. An ancient castle there, the ruins of which were in existence until the early part of the last century, belonged to the de Warrennes. A bronze wyvern, of thirteenth-century date, the badge or crest of the Warren family, was found among its ruins. Much has been published about branches of the family, notably the important memoir by the Rev. John Watson, on the Earls of Warren and Surrey, and the elaborate volume on the Comtes de Warren, by the present holder of the title. The author has utilized these works, and has also received large assistance from various members of the family; he has also made elaborate researches, extending over many years, into the Records in our libraries and Public Record Offices, with the result that we have, in one volume of 400 pages, a record which will be most useful to the student. The author himself acknowledges that there is still a large field for further research, and feels certain that, with every care to avoid them, errors will be found; but all corrections of such, and any new facts, will be gratefully received, if forwarded to the address given.

## Proceedings.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, on Tuesday, 27th January, 1903, at 5 o'clock, p.m.:

PROFESSOR ED. PERCEVAL WRIGHT, M.A., M.D., *President*, in the Chair.

The following Fellows and Members attended:—

*Vice-Presidents*.—John R. Garstin, F.S.A.; F. Elrington Ball, M.R.I.A.; Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, M.R.I.A.; W. E. Kelly, D.L.; Richard Langrishe, J.P.; Thomas J. Westropp, M.R.I.A.

*Hon. General Secretary*,—Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.

*Fellows*.—H. F. Berry, M.R.I.A.; Geo. D. Burtchaell, M.R.I.A.; John Cooke, M.A.; R. S. Longworth-Dames, M.R.I.A.; Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, M.R.I.A.; Arthur Fitzmaurice; S. A. O. Fitz Patrick; Rev. Canon French, M.R.I.A.; Edward Martyn; S. F. Milligan, M.R.I.A.; James Mills, I.S.O., M.R.I.A.; R. J. Molloy, M.R.I.A.; P. J. O'Reilly; Henry J. Stokes; Rev. Canon Stoney; Colonel Vigors.

*Members*.—Rev. William F. Alment, B.D.; Major John R. Baillie; Mrs. S. Bewley; John B. Cassin Bray; Mrs. Brien; Rev. Richard A. Burnett, M.A.; John Carolan, J.P.; Geo. O. Carolin; Miss J. Clark; Henry A. Cosgrave, M.A.; Rev. Geo. W. S. Coulter, M.A.; Robert G. Daniell, J.P.; Rev. Canon Fisher, M.A.; George Godden; Major Lawrence Gorman; Joseph Gough; T. Geo. H. Green, M.R.I.A.; Patrick J. Griffith; Rev. Canon Healy, LL.D.; Henry Hitchins; William F. Howie; Miss A. M. Joly; R. J. Kelly, B.L.; Rev. Canon Kernan, B.D.; F. B. Knox; Rev. Dr. Lawlor; Mrs. Long; J. B. Mason; Sheriff Middleton; Rev. Dr. Moffatt; J. W. Montgomery; John Morton; Francis M'Bride; Rev. Canon M'Clintock, M.A.; James M'Connell; Walter G. Neale; Rev. Canon O'Connor, M.A.; Kevin E. O'Duffy; J. E. Palmer; Miss A. Peter; George Peyton, LL.D.; Hugh Pollock; Thomas Rice; W. Johnson-Roberts; Mrs. Shackleton; E. W. Smyth; Mrs. E. W. Smyth; William Tempest, J.P.; Henry Vereker; Rev. Francis J. Wall; Rev. Canon Walsh, D.D.; Robert White; W. Grove White, LL.B.; Herbert Wood; W. Geale Wybrants, M.A.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were elected:—

AS FELLOW.

Connellan, P. L., 6, Via Augusto Valenziani, Porto Salaria, Rome: proposed by Sir Thomas H. Grattan Esmonde, Bart., M.P., *Fellow*.



AS MEMBERS.

- Allen, Mrs. Mary, Ailsa Lodge, Kilrane, Co. Wexford : proposed by the Rev. Canon French, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
- Barkley, Dr. James, Maghera, Co. Derry : proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.
- Brunskill, Rev. T. R., B.A., The Rectory, Killenceoole, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth : proposed by Rev. K. C. Brunskill, M.A.
- Colville, Miss Carolin, Ph. D., Orono, Maine, U.S.A. : proposed by William C. Stubbs, M.A., *Fellow*.
- Coulter, Robert, Merchant, Thomas-street, Sligo : proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.
- Fricker, Rev. M. A., Canon, P.P., The Presbytery, 25, Rathmines-road, Dublin : proposed by Rev. Francis J. Wall.
- Hanna, Rev. Robert F., B.A., The Manse, White Abbey, Co. Antrim : proposed by Rev. James H. Maconachie, B.A.
- Learmont-Anderson, Mrs., Rosnashane, Ballymoney, Co. Antrim : proposed by Miss J. Clark.
- London Library, The, St. James's-square, London, S.W., *per* Charles Hagbert Wright, LL.D., Librarian : proposed by Professor Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., M.D., *President*.
- Moore, Count Arthur, D.L., Aherlow Castle, Co. Tipperary : proposed by J. G. Barry, D.L.
- Mulhall, Mrs. Marion, 35, Via Venti Settembre, Rome : proposed by Sir Thomas H. Grattan Esmonde, Bart., M.P., *Fellow*.
- O'Neill, Mrs., Jocelyn-street, Dundalk : proposed by Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P.
- Pim, A. Cecil, Monarna, White Abbey, Co. Antrim : proposed by William C. Stubbs, M.A., *Fellow*.
- Pim, Jonathan, Barrister-at-Law, 10, Herbert-street, Dublin : proposed by William C. Stubbs, M.A., *Fellow*.
- Wallis, Hector, J.P., Balheary House, Swords, Co. Dublin : proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.
- Watters, Rev. Thomas F., B.A., St. John's, Blackrock, Co. Dublin : proposed by Rev. Francis J. Wall.
- Wilson, T. W., 10, Selborne-road, Handsworth, Birmingham : proposed by John Panton.

The REPORT OF COUNCIL for the Year 1902 was received and adopted, as follows :—

In presenting the Annual Report for 1902, the Council, while again congratulating the Society on its continued prosperity and satisfactory financial condition, are obliged to draw attention to the neglect of some members to pay their annual subscriptions. Out of a total membership of 1248 for the present year, there are still on the list 69 who have not paid any subscriptions for 1902, including 39 who have not paid for the years 1901 and 1902.

The names of the members in arrear have been published in the December issue of the *Journal*. Members owing for three years will be struck off the Roll, and steps will be taken to recover the amounts due.

In such a large Society as ours it is not surprising that some are found who are but imperfectly acquainted with the rules of the organization to which they belong, and their responsibility as regards the payment of their subscriptions. Many appear to regard the Society as an agency for the gratuitous distribution of its publications, which they as members are willing to receive but not to pay for. The removal of a name from the list of members does not extinguish the debt incurred during the period of membership.

#### ANCIENT STRUCTURES.

Another misconception, which, however, exists chiefly outside the ranks of the Society, is that it behoves it to undertake the custody and repair of structures of antiquity when neglected by the owners, or by those locally interested.

Before the passing of the Irish Church Act in 1869 (32 and 33 Vict. chap. 42) there was no legal machinery in existence beyond that provided at common law for the punishment of persons injuring ancient monuments, and no provision for their preservation. The Society in these circumstances found it necessary to undertake the execution of works of preservation of the buildings at Jerpoint, Clonmacnoise, Glendalough, Monasterboice, and other important ruins, which were at that time practically derelict. The cost of these works was defrayed by voluntary contributions, as the Society had no funds for such purposes, and their superintendence was provided by local archæologists, who gave their time and assistance gratuitously. The amount accomplished in this way was necessarily limited. When the opportunity arose, steps were taken, in conjunction with the Royal Irish Academy, assisted by several influential members, to have a clause inserted in the Act before mentioned (section 25) which enabled the Government to undertake the preservation of certain ruins. This was followed in 1882 by another Act, called "The Ancient Monuments Protection Act" (45 and 46 Vict. chap. 73), in the promotion of which the Society was actively engaged; and an additional Act was passed in 1892 (55 and 56 Vict. chap. 46).

The Society having thus largely contributed to the passing of these Acts, which resulted in operations on a large scale being undertaken by the Government, and the expenditure of over £40,000 on the works, spread over nearly two hundred ruins, it became unnecessary to continue the work of preservation, which now happily devolves, in a great measure, on the State.<sup>1</sup>

When the Acts came into operation, your Council was invited to suggest lists of ruins which might with advantage be brought under the operation of these provisions. With the assistance of the local secretaries, such lists were compiled and furnished, and there are now 194

<sup>1</sup> For a copy of these Acts, and a list of the buildings, see vol. 22 of the Society's *Journal*, p. 420.

structures on the list, which comprises all the most important ruins in Ireland.

In 1894 your Council was asked to nominate two members of a committee, to be called the National Monuments Committee, composed of the Chairman of the Board of Works, the Inspector of National Monuments, and two members nominated by the Royal Irish Academy, in addition to the two members nominated by your Council.

One of the objects contemplated by the formation of this committee was to advise as to the desirability of taking charge of ruins for which application to vest had been made to the Board of Works. Since the formation of the committee your Council having secured a sufficient representation on it, have not, therefore, as a Council, put forward any recommendation as to adding to the list, especially as it now devolves on the owners who wish to vest to make their applications direct to the Board of Works, and persons interested in the preservation of a ruin should approach the owner and induce him to make applications in the prescribed manner. No application is now entertained unless from the owner.

Another important advance in connexion with the preservation of our National Monuments was made in the introduction of section 19 of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, which enables any County Council to take charge of any monument in the county not already vested.

There are still a number of minor structures in the country, the preservation of which is very desirable. It is hoped that County Councils will take advantage of the salutary provisions of the Act, which seem to have escaped general attention.

The County Council of Galway is entitled to the honour of being the first to make the section operative, and under its provisions the High Cross of Tuam, and the ruined church, Temple Jarlath,<sup>1</sup> in the same town, have been judiciously repaired. Great credit is due to the Chairman of the County Council, Mr. Joseph A. Glynn, Dr. Costello, Mr. Perry (County Surveyor), and Mr. R. J. Kelly, J.P., all members of this Society and of the County Galway Historical and Archæological Society, for their exertions in the matter; and there is little doubt the example will be followed in other counties where there is pressing necessity for such work.

It may be desirable in this connexion to remind members that our Council are empowered to offer a reward of £5 to any person who gives such information as would lead to a successful prosecution in the case of wanton or malicious injury to any ancient monument in Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

The foregoing *résumé* is given for the information of members who are interested in the preservation of ancient monuments and the legislation

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<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, vol. 32, pp. 414, 415.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 24, p. 298.



connected therewith; but a more detailed account, with copies of the Act and lists of the monuments, is given in the *Journal*, volume 22, pp. 411 to 429.

The Society, liberated from undertaking structural work of preservation, devotes all its energies to the not less important (and in the minds of some the more important) work of placing on permanent record, and correctly describing and illustrating, such ruins in the pages of the *Journal*, which are freely open to the voluntary contributions of all members.

#### HILL OF TARA, COUNTY MEATH.

The irreparable injury done by the partial destruction of the "Rath of the Synods," continued during a portion of the present year, has occupied the serious attention of the Council, and everything that was considered practicable was done to stop the work of destruction.

The alleged object in digging up this mound is stated to be a search for "The Ark of the Covenant," which the instigator of the search has stated he believes to have been deposited in this particular rath.

The search, as prosecuted by him, involved the digging up and consequent destruction of the contour of the portion of the mound examined; and it is to the credit of Irish archaeologists that they have not allowed themselves to be identified with this act of vandalism.

The search having proved fruitless, and a strong feeling of indignation having been gradually aroused in the locality and elsewhere against the continuance of the work, and for other reasons, it was abandoned during the week ending 28th June last. On the 18th of that month, the Navan Rural District Council, in whose district the monument is situate, adopted a strongly-worded Resolution against "the action of the parties now engaged in obliterating the ancient and historic landmarks of the far-famed Hill of Tara in the idiotic search for the mythical Ark of the Covenant."

The Council have received from the Watching Committee,<sup>1</sup> appointed

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<sup>1</sup> The Committee appointed by the Council, in pursuance of Rule No. 19 of the General Rules of the Society, consists of—

Mr. B. R. Townley Balfour, D.L., M.R.I.A.

Mr. R. Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.

Sir John F. Dillon, Bart., D.L.

Sir Thomas H. Grattan Esmonde, Bart., M.P., M.R.I.A.

Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, M.R.I.A.

Mr. John Ribton Garstin, D.L., M.R.I.A., F.S.A.

Dr. P. Weston Joyce, M.R.I.A.

Mr. Edward Martyn.

Professor E. P. Wright, M.A., M.D., M.R.I.A.

to advise in connexion with the preservation of these mounds, a report as follows:—

#### TARA COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

“The Committee find that the famed earthworks on the Hill of Tara have for long engaged the attention of the Society. They formed the principal attraction of the Summer Excursion in June, 1894, for which occasion a short account of the Antiquities and their History was published, with a copy of the Ordnance Survey Map of the Hill, and a Map which was adapted from that of Dr. Petrie, as given in his “Essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara.”

The earthworks of Tara are enumerated in the Schedule attached to the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882 (45 & 46 Vict. cap. 73). Under the provisions of this Act the owner might by deed, under his hand, constitute the Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland, the guardians thereof. It appears that, in the case of Tara, no such deed as was contemplated by the Act was executed by the owners.

The portion of the Hill in which the greater number of the mounds are situated, and the more important part, is on the property of Earl Russell; the remaining portion is on the property of Mr. G. V. Briscoe.

In the summer of 1899 attention was called in Parliament to the fact that deep trenches were being dug through the Rath of the Synods, which is on the property of Mr. Briscoe. The Board of Works took steps to stop the injury to this mound, but, finding that it was not vested in them, withdrew from any further interference with the owner.

On Lord Russell's portion of the Hill, where the more important of the existing structures are to be found, there has been no visible alteration in their contour since Petrie's time. The Council wrote to Lord Russell representing the importance of preserving the present condition of the Hill, and requested his lordship “not to allow any excavations to be made on his property at Tara unless under competent archaeological advice, and that if his lordship wishes to allow excavations to be made, the Society would be prepared to arrange for such assistance, in the way of advice and supervision, as may be necessary.” To this communication a reply was received from the agent of the property, as follows:—“My instructions from Lord Russell are that he will allow no excavations to be made on his property at Tara. I have so noticed Mr. Briscoe.”

Mr. Patrick Boylan, of Dublin, it appeared, had acquired the interest of a long lease of lands, of which Mr. Briscoe was the owner in fee. The Council at once put themselves in communication with him. Mr. Boylan being a resident in Dublin, the President, Secretary, and Mr. B. R. T. Balfour, of Townley Hall, had the advantage of several personal interviews with him, with the result that, on the 15th of June, he intimated that he withdrew his permission to Mr. Briscoe; and on the 1st July last Mr. Boylan wrote as follows:—“I had an interview with Mr. Briscoe, and he gave me to understand that he would do anything I require in reference to Tara Hill. The men have ceased working at the Hill, and Mr. Groom has gone back to England.”

Mr. Boylan's premature decease within the last few weeks has, perhaps, created some uncertainty as to the ultimate disposal of this portion of Tara; but for the moment nothing can be done.

The condition in which the Rath of the Synods has been left is deplorable. It has been trenched over almost entirely to a depth of from 8 to 10 feet, and in some places to a greater depth. With such digging up and destruction of the contour no archaeological body could for a moment identify themselves; nor could your Society consent to take any part with the instigators of this search for “The Ark of the Covenant.”

Any well-devised scheme for the scientific investigation of the antiquities of Tara would require not only money, but experience on the part of the investigators, and would require the co-operation of Earl Russell and the representatives of the late Mr. Boylan.

#### MEMBERSHIP.

The Council regret to have to record the demise during the year of many friends of the Society. The following is a list of the Fellows and Members whose deaths have been notified, with the dates at which they joined the Society:—

#### FELLOWS.

Right Hon. E. H. Cooper, M.R.I.A., H.M.L. (1871). His Honor Judge Kane, LL.D., M.R.I.A. (1893). Daniel McDonnell, M.A., M.D. (1896). Thomas F. Cooke-Trench, M.R.I.A., J.P., D.L. (1888), *Vice-President*. Ralph Hugh Westropp, B.A. (1898). William W. Wilson, M.R.I.A., PRES. INST. C.E.I. (1894).

#### MEMBERS.

Rev. John Westropp Brady, M.A. (1889). Thomas Concannon, Solicitor (1898). Anderson Cooper, J.P. (1893). Lieut.-Col. I. H. Donegan, J.P. (1890). Robert H. Plunkett Dunne, J.P. (1893). Mrs. Henry L. Hoguet (1894). Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley, K.G. (1865). Very Rev. Owen Mac Cartan, P.P., V.G. (1892). Charles Mullin, Solicitor (1889). Middleton Moore O'Malley, J.P. (1894). N. Power O'Shee, J.P., D.L. (1860). Right Rev. Monsignor O'Sullivan, Archdeacon, P.P., V.G. (1889). Alexander Patton, M.D. (1889). Percy S. Swan (1889). Henry Pomeroy Truell, M.D., J.P., D.L. (1892). James Walby, C.E. (1895). Walter Saunders Wall, J.P. (1896).

During the year 3 Fellows and 56 Members were elected (five *Members* were transferred to the rank of *Fellow*), and, deducting the names of those removed by death or resignation, and those struck off the Roll, the numbers are as follows:—Hon. Fellows, 8; Fellows, 178; Members, 1062. Total, 1248.

#### FINANCES.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report shows a balance of £158 10s. to credit. The amount received for Life Composition during the year was £58 10s., and for the two preceding years £32 and £54, making for these periods a total of £144 10s. It has been the practice to invest the sums received in Life Compositions; and as no investment was made during the past three years, the Council have added £100 of the above balance to the invested funds.

#### THE INDEX.

This work, which has occupied the time and attention of several members for some years past in its production, has been finally completed. Part III., compiled by Dr. Wright as an Index to the Illustrations, was issued in December. The volume forms an Index to the *Journal* for the forty-one years from 1849 to 1889, inclusive. The Council have also published as an Appendix to the Index Volume a



List of the Drawings of Irish Antiquities made by the late G. V. Du Noyer, which are contained in twelve bound volumes in our Library, arranged under Counties. The List has been compiled by Mr. T. J. Westropp. These drawings form an important contribution to the history of Irish Antiquities.

## PRESIDENT.

A vacancy occurs in the office of President, the three years having elapsed since the election of Professor E. Perceval Wright, M.A., M.D.

Mr. John Ribton Garstin, M.A., F.S.A., D.L., has been nominated as President for the three years next ensuing. He has been long and intimately connected with the work of the Society.

## HON. TREASURER.

Your Council regret to have to announce the resignation of Mr. William C. Stubbs, M.A., as Hon. Treasurer, on account of the increasing pressure of his professional engagements. Mr. Stubbs has held this responsible office since the commencement of the year 1900, and has laboured most assiduously and successfully for the benefit of the Society. The Council desire to place on record their high appreciation of the value of his services.

Mr. Henry J. Stokes has been nominated as his successor, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting.

## THE COUNCIL.

There were ten Meetings of Council held during the year, at which the attendances were as follows :—

The President, 9; the Hon. General Secretary, 9; the Hon. Treasurer, 7; Henry F. Berry, 7; George D. Burtchaell, 7; Frederick Franklin, 6; Colonel Vigers, 3; Dr. Joyce, 3; James Mills, 4; Rev. Canon Healy, 3; Edward Martyn, 5; Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, M.R.I.A., 4; Rev. Canon French, M.R.I.A., 3; Most Rev. Bishop Healy, 0; Sir Thomas Drew, 0.

In accordance with Rule 17, the following Members of Council retire, and are not eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting, viz. :—

H. F. Berry, M.A., M.R.I.A.; G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., F. Franklin, F.R.I.A.I.; Most Rev. Bishop Healy; and Sir Thomas Drew, P.R.H.A.

Nominations, in compliance with Rule 16, in addition to those received for President and Hon. Treasurer, have been received to fill up these vacancies, and the nominations are as follows :—

George Coffey, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*; John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*; Joseph H. Moore, M.A., *Member*; George Noble Count Plunkett, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*; William Grove-White, LL.B., *Member*.

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The retiring Vice-Presidents are :—

For Leinster—John Ribton Garstin, F.S.A., D.L.; for Ulster—Rev. George R. Buick, LL.D., M.R.I.A.; for Munster—James Frost, J.P., M.R.I.A.; and for Connaught—William E. Kelly, D.L.

There is also a vacancy caused by the lamented decease of Thomas F. Cooke-Trench, D.L., a Vice-President for Leinster.

The nominations received for these vacancies, in accordance with Rule 16, are :—

## FOR LEINSTER :

SIR THOMAS H. GRATTAN ESMONDE, Bart., M.P. (*Member*, 1890; *Fellow*, 1902).

WILLIAM C. STUBBS, M.A. (*Member*, 1890; *Fellow*, 1900; *Hon. Treasurer*, 1900–1902).

## FOR ULSTER :

THE REV. WILLIAM T. LATIMER, B.A. (*Member*, 1892; *Fellow*, 1896).

## FOR MUNSTER :

PROFESSOR ED. PERCEVAL WRIGHT, M.A., M.D. (*President*, 1900–1902).

## FOR CONNAUGHT :

THE MOST REV. DR. HEALY, Bishop of Clonfert (*Fellow*, 1890).

As only one nomination has been received for each vacancy, the foregoing will be declared as elected to the vacant seats on the Council, and for Hon. Treasurer, Vice-Presidents, and President, respectively.

## EXCURSIONS.

During the past year, in addition to the extended Summer Excursions in July and August from Londonderry as a centre, excursions were made to Drogheda and Slane from Dublin, on the 6th of May, and, in connexion with the Kilkenny Meeting, an excursion was arranged on the 8th of October to Gowran, Tullaherin, Thomastown, and Jerpont. The places visited in connexion with the Londonderry Meeting have been very fully described and illustrated in the *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> and the other excursions are noted in connexion with the report of the proceedings of the Dublin and Kilkenny Meetings in May and October last.

The Meeting at Kilkenny for the past few years has been held in the last quarter of the year, the earliest month in which—October—is not considered sufficiently convenient for a large excursion. It is proposed in the coming year to hold a meeting in Kilkenny, on the 26th of May, with excursions, instead of in October.

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<sup>1</sup> See "Proceedings" in vol. 32, pp. 277–320.

The Summer Excursion for 1903 is to be held in the province of Munster; and it is proposed that Youghal should be visited during the last week in July, or first week in August. With a good Local Committee to make the necessary arrangements for vehicles and luncheon, a successful meeting could be held, as the district is rich in places of historical and archæological interest.

*Programme for 1903.*—The following is proposed for the Meetings and Excursions in the year 1903 :—

PLACE.	DATE.	REMARKS.
Dublin, . . .	Tuesday, *Jan. 27,†	{ Annual Meeting and Evening Meeting, for Papers.
Do., . . .	,, Feb. 24,†	Evening Meeting, for Papers.
Do., . . .	,, Mar. 31,†	Do. Do.
Do., . . .	,, *April 28,†	Quarterly Meeting.
Kilkenny, . .	,, *May 26,	Evening Meeting and Excursions.
Youghal, . . .	,, *Aug. 4,	Quarterly Do. Do.
Dublin, . . .	,, *Oct. 6,†	Do. Do. Do.
Do., . . .	,, Nov. 24,†	Evening Meeting, for Papers.

The following is an alphabetical list of the Fellows and Members elected in 1902 :—

#### FELLOWS.

- Beardwood, William H., M.R.I.A.I., C.E., Architect, 102, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin.
- Esmonde, Sir Thomas H. Grattan, Bart., M.P., Ballynastragh, Gorey (*Member*, 1890).
- FitzPatrick, S. A. O., Glenpool, Terenure (*Member*, 1898).
- Iveagh, The Right Hon. Baron, K.P., LL.D., M.A. (Dublin), D.L., 80, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
- Rath-Merrill, Mrs. M. E., 80, North Weiner-avenue, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
- Somerville, Bellingham Arthur, Clermont, Rathnew, County Wicklow (*Member*, 1892).
- Stokes, Henry J., Barrister-at-Law, Ballynariagh, Howth (*Member*, 1898).
- Strangeways, William N., Lismore, 17, Queen's-avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N. (*Member*, 1895).

#### MEMBERS.

- Archer, Miss Brenda E., The Rectory, Ballybunion, County Kerry.
- Bayly, Col. W. H., Debsborough, Nenagh.
- Behan, Rev. W. J., c.c., Killeentierna, Farranfore.
- Bellew, The Hon. Mrs., Jenkinstown Park, Kilkenny.

\* Railway Excursion Tickets will be obtainable for these Meetings.

† Members of the Society's Dinner Club will dine at the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, at 6.30 p.m. on above dates.



- Blake, The Lady, Myrtle Grove, Youghal, County Cork.  
 Boland, John, M.P., 12, King's Bench Walk, Temple, London, E.C.  
 Browne, Thomas, Mill House, Dundalk.  
 Butler, Lieut.-Gen. Sir W. F., K.C.B., Government House, Devonport.  
 Clarke, A. W., Shanagoolan, Bray.  
 Delaney, James, County Surveyor, Tullamore, King's County.  
 Ferguson, Rev. Samuel, B.A., Waterside, Londonderry.  
 Finegan, Rev. Peter, C.C., St. Patrick's, Dundalk.  
 Gordon, Patrick, D.I., R.I.C., Dunmanway.  
 Gormanston, The Viscountess, Gormanston Castle, Balbriggan.  
 Griffith, Patrick Joseph, Professor of Music, 33, Longwood-avenue, Dublin.  
 Grubb, Miss Rosa F., Coolquill, Clogheen, Cahir.  
 Hiliard, John, Castlelough, Killarney.  
 Howie, William Forbes, 5, Mount Temple-ter., Dartry-road, Palmerston Park, Dublin.  
 Irwin, Rev. George F., B.D., M.A., The Diamond, Londonderry.  
 Jones, Arthur Ireton, 135, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.  
 Jones, Cromwell Walter, B.A., T.C.D., Ashroyd, Dundrum, County Dublin.  
 Kelly, Owen J., Blackrock, Dundalk.  
 Kelly, Mrs. Owen J., Blackrock, Dundalk.  
 Kyle, Valentine, Joyce Gorton, County Tyrone.  
 Lavery, Rev. Francis, P.P., Portglenone, County Antrim.  
 Lytle, Samuel Douglas, Maghera, County Londonderry.  
 MacInerney, T. J., 1, Palace-terrace, Drumcondra, and 27, Lower Sackville-street.  
 MacNamara, Rev. John, Mount St. Alphonsus, Limerick.  
 M'Connell, Sir Robert, Bart., The Moat, Strandtown, Belfast.  
 Moore, John, 117, Grafton-street, Dublin.  
 Mullan, James, Castlerock, County Londonderry.  
 Mullany, Joseph James, H. M. Inspector of National Schools, Galway.  
 Mulvany, Rev. Thomas, C.C., Killucan, County Westmeath.  
 Neale, Walter G., 86, Grosvenor-square, Dublin.  
 Nolan, Rev. John, P.P., Ahoghill, County Antrim.  
 O'Brien, Conor, Trinity College, Oxford.  
 O'Connell, Mrs. Mary, Killeen, Killiney, County Dublin.  
 O'Doherty, Rev. Philip, P.P., Claudy, Londonderry.  
 O'Donovan, Rev. J., P.P., Loughrea, County Galway.  
 Pim, Miss Ida, Lonsdale, Blackrock, County Dublin.  
 Pim, Miss Norah, 10, Herbert-street, Dublin.  
 Prochazka, The Baroness P., Leyrath, Kilkenny.  
 Reynolds, Mrs. Kate Isabella, The Mullens, Ballyshannon.  
 Roberts, W. Johnson, Solicitor, 14, Adelaide-road, Dublin.  
 Robertson, Hume, Rose Park, Monkstown, County Dublin.  
 Shaw, Frederick, M.R.I.A., 20, Laurence-street, Drogheda.  
 Shiel, H. Percy, Summerhill, Nenagh, County Tipperary.  
 Sibley, John Churchill, Mus. Doc., 22, Fernshaw-road, West Brompton, London, S.W.  
 Smith, Blair, J.P., Errigal House, Laurence-street, Londonderry.  
 Smyth, Mrs. John, 64, Dalymount, N. C. Road, Dublin.  
 Spring, Richard Francis, C.E., Polehore, Wexford.  
 Tweedy, John, Friendly Brothers' House, 22, St. Stephen's-green, N.  
 Ward, Edward, Ulster Bank, Dundalk.  
 Weldon, Rev. P. S., Nurney Rectory, Bagenalstown, County Carlow.  
 West, George Francis, M.D., Resident Medical Superintendent, Kilkenny County and City Lunatic Asylum, Kilkenny.  
 Wilkinson, George, B.A., Ringlestown, Kilmessan, County Meath.

Report on the Photographic Survey during 1902<sup>1</sup>:—

The number of photographs in platinotype added to the Society's collection during the year is 123. Of these, 8 of County Carlow are the gift of Colonel Vigors, and 73 of Counties Clare, Limerick, and Meath, of the Curator. The Society has had 42 printed from negatives lent by Dr. George Fogerty, of places in the Counties of Clare, Galway, Kerry, and Mayo. This raises the number of permanent photographs to 1860. Besides these, we have to thank Mr. H. Knox for 55 bromide photographs in Mayo, Galway, Roscommon, and Kerry. As may be seen by this and former reports, the "progressive province" is, in this department at least, non-progressive since 1896. Unfortunately the greater advance of the three southern provinces is almost entirely due to only about half a dozen energetic members of the Society. The bound volumes are twenty-one in number. There are seven volumes for Clare, two each for Antrim, Dublin, and Galway, and one each for Cork, Down, Kerry, Kilkenny, Limerick, Mayo, Meath, and Wexford. The preponderance of the first county has resulted from a gift of four volumes by a member of the Society. Of the others, seven were bound in 1900, and ten in 1901.

The additions to the various counties during the year are:—

COUNTY OF CARLOW.—Agha church, west door. Brownhill cromlech (2). Clo-grenane castle, Leighlin, cathedral (2). Old Leighlin, Black castle, after the fall of its south-west angle in 1888. Nuney, cross. Total, 8.

COUNTY OF CLARE.—Ballycarrol castle. Ballycullen (Sixmilebridge) castle. Ballygriffy castle. Ballykelly (Broadford) cromlech. Caheraphuca (Crusheen) cromlech. Caherblonick (Corofin) fort and cromlech; the cliff fort. Cahercommaun (Castletown) triple fort. Caheridoula (Rathborne) fort. Caherlough (Ruan) fort. Cahermacnaughten, O'Davoren's Law School and fort (2). Cahermurphy (Kilmihil) fort. Cappagh (Glencolumbcille) castle. Cappaghbane (Scariff) cromlech (2). Cappaghkennedy (Castletown) cromlech (2). Carncreagh (Doulough) cromlech. Clare, Augustinian Abbey (2). Cloghoolia (Broadford) cromlech. Drummin (Broadford) cromlech. Elmhill (Broadford) cromlech. Ennis, Franciscan convent (4). Fortanne (Tulla), St. Mochulla's well. Glencolumbcille, St. Columba's church. Kilbrack (near Lisdoonvarna) church. Killokennedy (Broadford) cromlech. Kilnaboy church and round tower (2). Kiltachy (Boston) church. Knockshanvo (Broadford), cromlech. Mohernacartan and Mohernaglasla (Castletown) forts. Rannagh (Castletown) cromlech. Rathblamaic, St. Blathmaic's church, sheela, and carved sill (2). Rockvale (Boston) castle. Seool (Corofin) castle. Tirmiebrain (Corofin) castle. Violet Hill (Broadford) cromlech. Total, 51.

COUNTY OF GALWAY.—Annaghdown church, carved window and door (2). Clare-Galway, Franciscan convent (4). Drumacoo (Clarinbridge) church (3). Galway City, church of St. Nicholas (2). Inchagoill, churches (3). Killeely church (2). Knockmoy, Cistercian Abbey. Ross-Errily, Franciscan convent (7). Total, 26.

COUNTY OF KERRY.—Abbeydorney Cistercian abbey (6). Rattoo, round tower (2). Total, 8.

COUNTY OF LIMERICK.—Kilbradran church and fort. Monasternagallighduff (Shanagolden), Augustinian convent (6). Shanid castle and mote. Total, 8.

COUNTY OF MAYO.—Cong Abbey, doorway. Total, 2.

<sup>1</sup> Continued from vol. xxxii., page 110, by T. J. Westropp, *Hon. Curator*.



## 110 ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

COUNTY OF MEATH.—Ardmulchan church (2). Baronstown (Slane) cross. Castledexter (Slane) castle (2). Duleek abbey (4). Dunmoe castle and church (5). Fennor church and old house (3). Slane, the bridge, mote, and convent (3). Total, 20.

To prevent misapprehension in our members, we may inform them that the loose mounts, interchangeable albums, and Du Noyer sketches, can be seen by permission of the Council, and by subsequent arrangement with the Curator.

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED DURING 1902.

Votes of thanks were passed to the donors of the following publications received during the year 1902<sup>1</sup>:—

Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndihig og Historie, 1901, 11 R, 16 B, 4 H, and Memoire des Antiquaires du Nord, N.S., 1900, 1901; American Antiquarian Society, N. S., vol. xiv., Parts 3-4; vol. xv., Part 1: L'Anthropologie, vol. xii., Nos. 5, 6; vol. xiii., Nos. 1-5; Antiquary, The, N. S., 1902; Archæologia Cambrensis, 6th ser., vol. ii., Parts 1-4, and Index to 5th ser.; Archæologia Cantiana, vol. xxv.; Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, ser. 2, vol. iv., part 7; Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, vol. xxiv., 1, 2; British Archæological Association, New Ser., vol. vii., 4; vol. viii., 1, 2; Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, Nov., 1900, to May, 1901; also "Christ Church Cathedral" (W. G. Searle), No. xxxiv., and "Twelve Windows in Canterbury Cathedral" (Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D.); Cambridge, Report of the Library Syndicate for 1901; Canada, Geological Survey, Catalogue of Birds, Part I., and Index to Reports, 1868-1884; Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historical Society, vol. viii.; Cork Historical and Archæological Society, 2nd Ser., vol. viii., Nos. 52-55; Epigraphia Indica, vol. vi., 7; vol. vii., 1, 2, 3; Folk-Lore, vol. xii., 4; vol. xiii., 1, 2, 3; Galway Archæological Society, vol. i., 1901; vol. ii., 1902; Glasgow Archæological Society, Report for Session 1900-1901, and vol. iv., New Ser., Part 2; Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. xxi.; Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. lii., 1900; Hon. Society Cymmrodorion, Magazine, vol. xv., 1900-1901; Irish Builder for 1902; Kildare Archæological Society, vol. iii., 6, 7; Limerick Field Club, vol. ii., 6. Numismatic Society, 4th Ser., 3, 4, 1900-1901; 5-8, 1902-1903; Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, Proceedings, 1899-1901; Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902; Pennsylvania, University of, Bulletin of Free Museum of Science and Art; Revue Celtique, vol. xxii., 4; vol. xxiii., 1-3; Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. lviii., No. 232; vol. lix., Nos. 233-235; Royal Dublin Society, Transactions, vol. viii., Parts 8-13; Proceedings, vol. ix., Parts 3-4; Royal Irish Academy, Proceedings, vol. xxxi., 12-14; vol. xxxii., 1, 2; Royal Institute of British Architects, vol. ix., 3rd Ser., 1-4, and Kalendar; Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, vol. xv., 3-4; vol. xvi., 1, 2, and Annuaire; Society of Antiquaries of London, Proceedings, vol. xviii., 2, and Archæologia, vol. lii., 2; Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, vol. x., Nos. 13-27, and Archæologia Aeliana, Parts 57 and 58; Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xxxv., 1900-1901; Society of Architects, N. S., vol. ii., Nos. 15-25, and Year Book; Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. xxiii., 8; vol. xxiv., 1-8; Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, vol. xlvii., 1901, and General Index to vols. i. to xx. and xxi. to xl.; Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, vol. xi., 1; Surrey Archæological Collections, vol. xvi.; Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. xlv.; "The Reliquary"; Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine, vol. xxxii., 96 and 97, and Abstracts of Inq. p. m., Hen. III., Part I.; Yorkshire Archæological Journal, Parts 64, 65, 1901; Yorkshire Philosophical Society, Annual Reports for 1901; "Records of the Coote Family" (Mons. A. de Vlieger); "A Trip to the Veddahs" (Dr. H. M. Miller and Dr. W. Furness); The Wade Genealogy, Parts 2 and 3 (The Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A.); The Blake Family Records (Martin J. Blake).

<sup>1</sup> Compiled by Mr. R. Langrishe, Hon. Keeper of Printed Books.



The President then declared the President for 1903-1905, and the other officers as named in the Report, duly elected, as follows :—

PRESIDENT :

JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, M.A., F.S.A., D.L.

VICE-PRESIDENTS FOR LEINSTER :

SIR THOMAS H. GRATTAN ESMONDE, Bart., M.P. (*Member*, 1890 ; *Fellow*, 1902).

WILLIAM C. STUBBS, M.A. (*Member*, 1890 ; *Fellow*, 1900 ; *Hon. Treasurer*, 1900-1902).

VICE-PRESIDENT FOR ULSTER :

THE REV. WILLIAM T. LATIMER, B.A. (*Member*, 1892 ; *Fellow*, 1896).

VICE-PRESIDENT FOR MUNSTER :

PROFESSOR ED. PERCEVAL WRIGHT, M.A., M.D. (*President*, 1900-1902).

VICE-PRESIDENT FOR CONNAUGHT :

THE MOST REV. DR. HEALY, Bishop of Clonfert (*Fellow*, 1890).

HON. TREASURER :

HENRY J. STOKES (*Fellow*).

AUDITORS (*re-elected*) :

JOHN COOKE, M.A. (*Fellow*).

SAMUEL A. O. FITZ PATRICK (*Fellow*).

Colonel Vigors proposed and Canon ffrench seconded a resolution, which was passed *nem. con.*, expressing the Society's thanks to the outgoing President for the admirable way in which he had fulfilled the duties of his office.

The Meeting then adjourned until 8 o'clock, p.m.

EVENING MEETING.

The Chair was taken by the newly-elected President, JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., who delivered his Inaugural Address, which was referred to the Council for publication. (See p. 1.)

A Paper on "Kilree, with some mention of Kells in Ossory," by Miss J. Clark, having been read by the Rev. Canon ffrench (illustrated with lantern slides), was referred to the Council for publication.

TUESDAY, February 24, 1903.

An Evening Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, Feb. 24, 1903, in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*, in the Chair.

Papers were read by Colonel P. D. Vigors, J.P., *Fellow*, on "A List of High Sheriffs of the County of Carlow from the earliest date to the Last Century," and by the Rev. Canon ffrench on "Celtic Heraldry and the Arms of the Kingdom of Ireland," both of which were referred to the Council for publication.

The Meeting then adjourned.

TUESDAY, *March 31*, 1903.

An Evening Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, March 31, 1903, in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication, viz.:—

"A Note on the Age of Defensive Motes in Ireland," by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

"Antiquities of the Parish of Kilecomenty, near Birdhill, County Tipperary" (illustrated by lantern slides), by Henry F. Berry, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

The following Papers were taken as read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

"The Inisvickillane Ogam-stone," by Professor Rhys, *Hon. Fellow* (see p. 79).

"The Donaghmore Ogam, Co. Kildare," by Professor Rhys, M.A., *Hon. Fellow* (see p. 75).

"On a Double Cross at Duncrun, Co. Derry," by the Rev. Dr. Buick, M.A., M.R.I.A. (see p. 41).

"Note on Maghera," by S. F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President* (see p. 88).

"The Ogam Monument at Kilbonane," by R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

"The Career of Colonel Richard Grace, Governor of Athlone," by the Very Rev. J. J. Kelly, P.P., V.F.

"Notices of Cork in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," by Colonel Lunham, M.A., C.B., M.R.I.A.

The Meeting then adjourned until 28th April, 1903.

# THE JOURNAL

OF

## THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF IRELAND

FOR THE YEAR 1903.

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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART II., VOL. XXXIII.

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### Papers.

#### NOTES ON OGAM INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR RHYS, M.A., D.LITT., HON. FELLOW.

[Submitted MARCH 31, 1903.]

#### I.—THE OLDMILLS PIPER STONE, DONARD, COUNTY WICKLOW.

ON the 26th of September last, Professor Bury accompanied me to Donard to see the stone which Father Cavanagh had set up in front of his house; but we were surprised to find that the stone was not there, and that Father Cavanagh had left for another parish. However, we had not long to search, as we were told that the stone had been removed to the grounds of the squire, Mr. Norris Goddard, on the other side of the road. Mr. and Mrs. Goddard received us most cordially, and led us at once to the stone where it stands on their grounds. When Father Cavanagh was leaving Donard, they undertook the charge of the stone; and very properly, too, as it had come from a site at Oldmills, which was owned, unless I am mistaken, by Mrs. Goddard's father.

Mr. Macalister has printed his reading of the inscription in his "Epigraphy," Part I., p. 77 (No. 49); and it runs thus:—

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{IAQINI } koi \text{ } maqi \text{ } \frac{mob}{u} ? \\ \frac{p}{u} \left[ \frac{---}{coi} ? \dots \right] \end{array}$$

It had been already published by him in the *Academy*, August 18th, 1894; and this led me and Mrs. Rhys to go and see the stone on

Jour. R.S.A.I. { Vol. XIII., Fifth Ser. }  
                           { Vol. XXXIII., Consec Ser. }

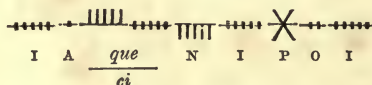
I



September 11th, 1896. When we reached the place where the stone used to be, we could not find it; but, after making a tedious search for it, in a drenching rain, we discovered that it had not long before been taken to Donard, where we found it in front of Father Cavanagh's house. He made us welcome; but we were very wet and miserable. In that state I tried to read the inscription, with Mr. Macalister's version in my hands. I am now inclined to think that I followed him a little too much in



accepting his suggestion, that, after the lettering reached the top, it ran round the head of the stone and down the edge nearest to that on which it started. I am now disposed to think that it only barely reaches the next edge to the right, the edges occupied by the scoring being, No. 1, on which it begins, and No. 2, the top edge: I am in doubt whether it extends round the corner to the top of No. 3.<sup>1</sup> The great difficulty in reading this stone is the fact that the chinks and hollows made by the natural weathering of the stone, especially at the top, are almost impossible to distinguish from the work of the inscriber. On that visit we guessed the Ogams on edge 1 to have made  $IA\frac{que}{ci}NIP^2I$ ; and No. 2 we found to begin with *m*, beyond which we could not proceed with any certainty, though we thought of a form of the usual *maqui mucoi*. For his *k*, Mr. Macalister read one oblique score on the  $\pi$  side: that score seemed to us, in 1898, to form the right-hand wing of  $\uparrow$ , which occurs in Wales for *p*; but this time, on getting the edge better cleaned, I thought the middle score looked more like the result of accident than a portion of the writing; while, on the other side, Prof. Bury clearly traced the remaining half of *X*. So the first edge stands thus:—

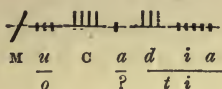


Where the *qu* comes there is an ancient flake of some length, so that the scores are somewhat sunk below the level of the others; but that is not all, for there is a score which seems to make straight for the first notch of the next vowel, so we were rather at a loss whether to read *ci* or *que*, but hardly *qui*.

The top corner begins with an undoubted *m*, followed by a vowel-notch, then by a chink and another vowel-notch: this is followed by four scores which slope backwards on the  $\pi$  side; then comes a chink followed by three or two scores on the same side, and with nearly the same inclinations. The first of these scores is certain; but it ends in the

<sup>1</sup> The height of the inscribed edge, No. 1 above, is 4 feet 11 inches, the other edges varying from 4 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 2 inches. The section at foot is nearly square, 1 foot 10 inches. The top edges vary from 1 foot 7 inches to 2 feet 2 inches.

edge like a vowel-notch: the next one is the same, but somewhat damaged; and there is room for a third, but there is nothing left of it except the notch; that is, if the notch is not merely to be counted with the vowel-notches that take up the rest of this top edge. These notches, therefore, seem to make six or five. The guesses of the whole of this edge will stand as follows:—



The combination suggested to me first some form of the name known in Irish hagiology as *Mochta*; but there are several objections which I will not discuss. Then there remains the reading *mucadia*, which I should treat as standing for an earlier *Mucatias*. In fact, this may be the correct reading, with the *s* omitted and the *a* placed on the very corner at the meeting of the top edge No. 2, with the edge No. 3. The name would be the noun which appears in later Irish as *muccaid*, genitive *muccada* (or *muccado*), 'a swineherd.' But it occurs also as a personal name, as, for instance, in the "Book of Leinster," fo. 347<sup>f</sup>, 352<sup>f</sup>, and 374<sup>b</sup>. The task of identifying the other name is more difficult, though the reading is more nearly certain. Mr. Macalister suggests *Iuchna* from the Rennes *Dindsenchas*: it would have been easier to accept this if the first two letters made *iu* or *io*. I am, on the whole, more inclined to equate the name with *Echen* (or *Eichen*), genitive, *Echin* (or *Echein* and *Eichen*): see the "Book of Leinster," fo. 318<sup>a</sup>, 322<sup>b</sup>, 328<sup>e</sup>, 332<sup>b</sup>, 333<sup>e</sup>, 334<sup>a</sup>, 335<sup>b</sup>, 338<sup>d</sup>, 339<sup>a</sup>, 353<sup>e</sup>, and Stokes's "Gorman," October 30th. To me the etymology of the name is obscure; but the *ia* seems to have become *ē*, as in words like the *Flatiam-i* mentioned above in my notes on the Inisvickillane Stone; and as to the alternative *ci* or *que* (possibly *qui*), I must explain that, as a mere matter of reading the scores, I think *que* ought to have the preference; and it has in its favour the coincidence with the second vowel of *Echen*; but against it we have the fact of the comparative scarcity of words with *qu*—an objection largely based, however, on one's ignorance.

Putting the foregoing guesses together we have:—

*Iaqueni poi Mucadia*, where we appear to have to regard *poi* as the relational word, as in the case of the Monattagart stone reading *Bro-nienas poi Netattrenalugos*: see this *Journal* for 1902, pp. 4, 5. Accordingly, I should translate as follows:—"The monument of Echen, boy, nephew, or successor of Muccaid."

One word more: I do not consider that our reading of the top edge approaches finality. It is given merely as a conjecture; but I do not regard it quite as hopeless as I did before, or as Mr. Macalister seems to do; and I should be very glad if he could, when next in this country,

examine the stone again. In the meantime Prof. Bury has promised to induce a geological friend to accompany him to Donard, and try to distinguish between the inscriber's work and the destructive effects of the weather. I doubt, however, that this could be successfully done till the stone is cleared of the lichen growing on it. The most harmless and effective way of doing that would be to have the stone buried in the soil for a few months; or else to have some sort of a rain-proof building made to keep it dry where it stands. This would meet any objection which might be made to having the stone shifted again; but the building ought to allow room for photographing and for conveniently examining all the four edges and the top of the stone. Then, when the lichen is gone, it would be possible to say, perhaps with certainty, whether there is an inscription on the edges enclosing the face diametrically opposite to the one in question in this note. I was inclined to think that I saw traces of writing on more than one of them. I am sorry to suggest giving Mr. Goddard so much trouble in addition to what he has already most ungrudgingly taken in the matter of this most interesting monument; but I am all the more bold to do so, as nobody is more anxious than he and Mrs. Goddard to arrive at a complete and correct reading of the Ogams.

## II.—THE CARNCOMB OGAM, CONNOR, COUNTY ANTRIM.

This has repeatedly occupied my attention since it has found a home in the Museum of Science and Art in Dublin. My guesses in June last may be represented thus :—

Cv iSBai MAQUI v o BARACI.  
 $\overline{a} \overline{l} \overline{u} \quad \overline{o} \qquad \overline{l} \quad \overline{a}$

In some of the most doubtful parts, I was able to point to agreement with the readings of Dr. Buick, whose carefully revised version is now before the readers of this *Journal*, 1902, pp. 240-3. When in Dublin in September, I spent a good deal of time gazing at this difficult bit of reading, and made some progress, as I am inclined to think, with my letters. My first guess of the first name proved to be  $C_a^m m^{\underline{a}} sboi$ , with a somewhat intelligible genitive. For a genitive would be required to precede *boi*, that is, if one is to regard it as a spelling of the *poi* of other Ogams. On my pointing out the *m* to Mr. Coffey, he at once detected another thin line drawn nicely parallel to what I read as *m*: this meant a *g*, a genitive  $Cag_a^{\underline{a}} s$  on which we have not been able to improve since. So the whole stands thus:—

C A G  $\frac{e}{i}$  A S' B O I M A Q U I V  $\frac{o}{a}$  B A R A C I



One of the chief differences between this and Dr. Buick's reading is that he finds a *v* following the *ea*; but I can only find certain abrasions which come opposite the *ea* and not after it; and they seemed to me to be wide and indefinite for comparison with the rest of the scoring. After the *g*, and at a distance, come three notches; and the intervening gap contained probably a notch: it would mean crowding them rather to suppose that there were two in it. The first notch of the *o* of *boi* is in a hollow beyond which the edge becomes very rounded, with the result that the vowel-notches become as long as the *m*, whence it is that Dr. Buick suggests *g* or *d*. The spacing of what I read as the *i* of *boi* is exact; and the notches fail to incline enough to yield *g* among their number: that is my impression. The *a* of *maqui* is damaged, and so is the *o* of *Vobaraci*; but there seems to be room enough there for two notches without overcrowding.

The inscription would seem to mean '[The monument] of Caig, son of Fobrach.' The latter name may possibly be that which occurs as *Fobraech* in a passage quoted by Stokes from the "Annals of Innisfallen," A.D. 500: see the *Revue Celtique*, xvij. 126. *Caig* is a name I have not found; but that is the form to be expected from a nominative *Cagi-s*, genitive *Cage-as* or *Cagi-as*: it is probably related to the element *cag* in the genitive *Netacagi* on a stone at Castletimon, in Wicklow, and possibly to the first element in the old name *Cogidubnos*, or *Cogidumnos*: it may have meant a 'hedge, fence, defence, or protection.'

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#### NOTES.

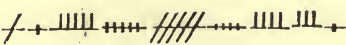
Here I append one or two notes which I wish to add in reference to my Paper in this *Journal* for 1902, pp. 1-41:—

1. Since writing of stone No. 15, belonging to the MacGillicuddy group, and reading *Gosoct eas mosac Mapini*, I have come across other spellings of *mosac* besides *mossach*, genitive *mossaig*. O'Curry, in his "Manuscript Materials," p. 485, gives a poem of Dubthach ua Lugair, in which the words occur, *ar maig mossaid* 'upon Magh Mossaid (see the "Book of Leinster," fo. 45a, line 36). O'Curry fixes the place in the barony of Eliogarty, in County Tipperary. To be consistent in his spelling, he ought to have written *Magh Mossaidh*. In any case, the *d* here meant what is written *dh*; but it was sounded the same as the *g* of *mossaig*, namely, as *gh*, a practice which accounts for the frequent confusion in medieval manuscripts between *g* and *d* non-initial. So in the Rennes Dinnsenchas (*Rev. Celtique*, xvi., 161, 162), we have a mention of an unidentified place called Seg Mosad. Stokes, in his text, prints it "Mossad mac Main," 'Mossad son of Maen'; but if the MS. permits it, one might perhaps suggest *Mossad Mec Main*, 'Mac

Maen's *mossag*'; and if *seg* cannot have meant anything else than a hawk, one would be tempted to treat *seg mossad* as a compound, *ségmossag*, which might mean literally a hawk-servant, or some kind of a falconer; better perhaps *segmossag*, 'a strong servant.'

But to give the story a little sense and consistency, it seems to me requisite to introduce a place-word into it, and the vocable wanted is suggested at once by the words in the text, *isin muigh*, 'in the plain' (*magh*, dative-ablative *muigh*). The original heading must have been *Mag Ségmossag* or *Mag Ségmossaig*, according as the genitive is construed plural or singular. One or other would seem to have been the earlier name of the place called later Mag Mossaig. Lastly this word occurs in a passage in the "Courtship of Moméra," published by O'Curry in the same volume as his "Battle of Magh Leana." I refer to pp. 156-9, where Eoghan Taidhleach enumerates certain of his foster-brothers and other favourites who were to accompany him to Spain. The short list closes with the words: *acús Mosad mó gilla, diatá Magh Mosaid*, which O'Curry renders, "and Mosadh, my servant, after whom Magh Mosadh is called." Here I should suggest that a more original form of the story probably read for *Mosad mó gilla* simply *mó mosad*, that is to say, 'my servant.' This may be regarded, I think, as corroborating the view that the word meant *gilla* or servant; but the etymology of the word is a *desideratum*; and so far I cannot decide whether the last consonant of *mossach* was *c* or *g* before it was reduced to the spirant which we have found so often wrongly written *d*.

2. A friend has expressed his surprise at my reading stone No. 11, from the neighbourhood of Killorglin:

  
 M A Q U I R E C T A

So I had Mr. Coffey's permission to get the glass-case removed, so as to be able to feel the scores, and turn them towards the light. The result was that he and I could entertain no manner of doubt as to the four scores for *c*.

3. The same friend having also suggested *ogg* where I had read *olg*, namely, in *Olgodipoi*, on the Aglish stone, No. 20, I examined it again, with the result that I failed to read *gg*. I shall be glad to hear of my friend's having an opportunity of again looking at both these stones.







WILLIAM KING, D.D.

(From the Portrait in the Theatre, Trinity College, Dublin.)

DIARY OF WILLIAM KING, D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,  
DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT IN DUBLIN CASTLE.

EDITED (WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDIX)  
BY HUGH JACKSON LAWLOR, D.D.

[Read JANUARY 28, 1902.]

INTRODUCTION.

THE story of the life of Archbishop King has been so fully told by the late Professor G. T. Stokes,<sup>1</sup> that it is unnecessary here to do more than chronicle a few leading dates, so far as the earlier years of his career are concerned.

William King was born in the North of Ireland in the year 1650, and at the age of seventeen entered Trinity College, Dublin. His course there seems to have been distinguished; and in 1672 he competed, but unsuccessfully, for Fellowship. His answering at the Fellowship examination was sufficiently good to attract the notice of John Parker, Archbishop of Tuam, and for his diocese he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Derry in 1673. In April, 1674, he was advanced to the priesthood. Parker gave him the Prebend of Kilmainmore, and subsequently the Provostship in Tuam Cathedral. A few years later the Archbishop was translated to Dublin; and in 1679 he presented King to the living of St. Werburgh's, and the office of Chancellor in St. Patrick's Cathedral. John Worth was at the time Dean. Nine years afterwards illness obliged him to relinquish the rule of his cathedral, and he nominated the Chancellor Sub-Dean. On his death in April, 1688, the Chapter, by a unanimous vote, elected King as their President. A contest with the Government caused a long delay in the appointment of Worth's successor, but at length the Chapter met 26th January, 1688-9, and William King was elected Dean of St. Patrick's.

We have now reached the year of King's imprisonment, and it becomes necessary, for the elucidation of the Diary which is here for the first time printed, to follow the history of the time, and of King himself, somewhat more minutely.

It is well known that, in the early months of the eventful year 1689, there was a considerable exodus of Protestants from Ireland. Amongst those who left was Francis Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin. Marsh had summoned his clergy to a Visitation, to be held on the 8th April, and it was necessary to appoint commissaries to act for him at it, and to watch over the diocese during his absence in England. For this purpose he

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<sup>1</sup> *Worthies*, Lectures vii.-xv. For references to the authorities quoted in this Paper, see p. 139.

selected two of the more prominent clergy, William King and Samuel Foley. A copy of the deed of their appointment as commissaries is preserved in the Diocesan Register. It is dated 5th February, 1688-9. Ten days before, as we have seen, King had been elected Dean of St. Patrick's, and without loss of time Foley had been appointed to succeed him as Chancellor of St. Patrick's<sup>1</sup> and Incumbent of St. Werburgh's, Dublin, and St. Canice's, Finglas. Thus the Archbishop had made all needful preparation for his departure. He seems to have left Ireland a few days later, for, on 26th February, John Fitzgerald resigned the Archdeaconry of Dublin, and his resignation was accepted the same day by King and Foley, acting as commissaries for the Archbishop. This fact, which is attested by the Diocesan Register, indicates that Francis Marsh was already absent from Dublin. He was apparently followed shortly afterwards by Samuel Foley;<sup>2</sup> and thus it came that King, from about Easter onwards, was the real ruler of the diocese. "I took upon me," he writes,<sup>3</sup> "the jurisdiction of the entire diocese, and, with the consent of the clergy, ordered all things, as though invested with full authority so to do." And the statement is confirmed by a very interesting letter addressed to him by the Rev. Jeremiah Dawson, 28th May, 1689, and preserved in the valuable collection of Mrs. Lyons. King had written to him complaining of his neglect of his parishes of Rathdrum, Dungans-town and Derrylossary, in the county of Wicklow. Dawson defends himself against the charge, but admits the right of Dean King to inquire into his management of his cure, since "my Lord Archbishop had . . . left the care of the diocese upon him in his absence."

Meanwhile, under the strong hand of Tyrconnell, things had rapidly advanced in Dublin and throughout Ireland. The Protestants had been deprived of their arms in February; King James, after landing at Kinsale on the 12th March, had entered Dublin on Palm Sunday, 24th March. Then followed his short and unfortunate visit to the besiegers of Derry, and his famous Parliament in Dublin, at which the Act of Settlement was repealed and the great Act of Attainder passed. The first act of the sad drama ended with the prorogation of Parliament, 20th July, 1689. By the end of July the fortunes of King James were at a low ebb; disaster followed disaster. At the battle of Killiecrankie on the 27th, the death of Claverhouse had deprived him of his chief supporter in Scotland; on the 30th, Kirk had entered Derry, and two days later the siege was raised; on the 30th, too, Justin Mac Carthy, Viscount Mountcashel, had been defeated by the Enniskilleners at Newtown Butler

<sup>1</sup> He was installed 31 January (Chapter Minutes).

<sup>2</sup> In the Act of Attainder "Samuel Folio, Chancellor of St. Patrick's," is named among those who "have absented themselves from this kingdom, and have gone into England, or some other places beyond the seas, since the fifth day of November last, or in some short time before, and did not return" (S. P. I., pp. 276, 8).

<sup>3</sup> E. H. R., p. 318.



and taken prisoner; and, above all, the redoubtable Schomberg had arrived at Chester on the 20th, and was waiting his opportunity to cross over to Ireland.

It was probably the approach of Schomberg which was the immediate cause of the imprisonment of a considerable number of Protestants in the city of Dublin, which took place towards the end of the month. Among the rest twelve men of good position were sent to Newgate, some of whom were transferred to the Castle, and some to Trinity College.<sup>1</sup> Others, of whom the Dean of St. Patrick's was one, were sent direct to the Castle. Others, doubtless, were imprisoned elsewhere.

About King's imprisonment there is a considerable amount of obscurity. In the first place, it is impossible to speak with confidence as to the reason assigned for it. We may surmise, indeed, that its real motive was the desire to have a strong man, suspected to be in more or less close sympathy with the Williamite party, and undoubtedly ready on all occasions to resist attempts to harass the Church, out of the way. And King certainly implies that no charge of any kind was brought against him. "Almost all the Protestant Gentlemen," he writes<sup>2</sup>—and he was among the number—"without Reason or pretence of Reason, without so much as a Warrant, or Form of Law, were put in Goals (*sic*) under the custody of mean and barbarous Guards." But Leslie challenges the statement. "Was not he accused for holding Correspondence, and giving Intelligence to the *Rebels* (as they were then called) both in *England* and the North of *Ireland*? And was it not true? Did he not give frequent Intelligence to *Schomberg* by one *Sherman*, and keep constant Correspondence with Mr. *Tollet* and others in *London*? He knows this would have been called *Treason* in those days, and a bloody-minded *Tyrant* would have found another Remedy for it than a short Imprisonment."<sup>3</sup> King will not admit the truth of these insinuations, but his denials are not altogether satisfactory. In his manuscript notes for a rejoinder to Leslie<sup>4</sup> he writes against the passage just quoted, "Most false y<sup>t</sup> he was accused of correspond[ence]; knows no such man as *Sherman*." And in a more formal reply, in a letter addressed ten years afterwards to Dean Trench, he has these words: "As for their finding any of my letters, it's most horribly false, they never had nor cou'd have any such, nor did my Lord Chiefe Justice, Herbert, ever tax me with any such thing."<sup>5</sup> But the real question is not what accusation his friend Herbert may or may not have brought against him: we want to know whether he was, rightly or wrongly, suspected by Nugent, or others in authority, of sending

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 141, and note 2 there.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. I., chap. III., § 7, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Leslie, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Lyons Collection (see Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix to Second Report, p. 236).

<sup>5</sup> Mason, p. 211.

information to the enemy. Again, it may be quite true that he did not know Sherman; but he makes no such affirmation with respect to George Tollet of London; and in fact he was in correspondence with that ardent Williamite—clearly no new acquaintance—in February, 1688–9.<sup>1</sup> And, finally, whoever will read his own account in the following Diary of his interview with Judge Nugent on 15th August, will have no doubt that at least Nugent professed to believe that he had been guilty of treasonable correspondence. The riddle appears to us to be in part solved, without the necessity of accusing King of any want of good faith, by the following passage, which we translate as well as we can, from his Autobiography:—

“We (sc. Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, and himself) were regarded as oracles, and whatever news they (the Protestants) heard they used to bring to us; they used to tell us about any ill-usage they had suffered or feared; so that almost the whole history of what was done became known to us—private letters addressed to themselves, others of a public nature, public instruments, proclamations, ordinances, even copies of documents which were kept in the presses of the secretaries, were communicated to me. About these things we used often to speak in conversation with our friends, who sent notes of things which we had said with regard to their affairs to friends in England and the North of Ireland, and very imprudently blazoned them about as mine. And when these things were reported by spies to the faction of King James, I myself was regarded as the author of them all, and suffered very severely in consequence.”<sup>2</sup> No charge may have been alleged at the moment of King’s arrest; but these quotations leave little doubt as to the nature of the accusation which was subsequently made; and they tend to justify James and his Privy Council in regarding the Dean of St. Patrick’s as “a dangerous man.”

In what part of the Castle was King imprisoned? The question is of little moment, and cannot be answered with assurance. It is sometimes asserted without misgiving that he and his companions were lodged in the Birmingham Tower,<sup>3</sup> to which one writer adds, by way of explanation, that his prison was “at the very top of the Record Tower, now filled with

<sup>1</sup> A letter in Tollet’s hand, without address, year, or signature, but endorsed, in King’s writing, “Mr. Tollet, Feb. 22, 1688,” is preserved in a collection of letters which belonged to the late Bishop Reeves (T.C.D. MS. 1122, No. 5). It quite justifies Leslie’s significant question. An interview with Schomberg is mentioned, in the course of which Tollet spoke to him about “Dr. K. and ye Arch Bp. of D.” He begs King to inform him of “the quarters of all troops and companys, the number of Protestants in Dublin, w<sup>t</sup> [compa]nies are made Garrisons, and whatever you conceive [. . .] inquisition of one that extreemly longs to serve his frends in time of need.” One sentence is worth transcribing: “Upon the K<sup>e</sup> election to y<sup>e</sup> crown, several of our Irish-English here, writ extravagant letters into Ireland, nay to y<sup>e</sup> Deputy himself, and I’m affraid you have or will find y<sup>e</sup> effects of those undecent heats.”

<sup>2</sup> E. H. R., p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Lough Erne*, p. 80.



ancient records.”<sup>1</sup> That is to say, King was confined in the tower which is *now* known as the Birmingham Tower, but which he knew as the Wardrobe Tower.<sup>2</sup> That may be true. His way of speaking of that which *he* called the Birmingham Tower, at 17th September, makes it unlikely that he was in it. He was certainly (it is everywhere implied in the Diary) in a room pretty high up, with a considerable number of prisoners below and none above him—as it appears, in “a cold nasty garret.”<sup>3</sup> It must have been difficult, in the semi-ruinous Castle of those days, to find such a place, except in one of the towers, and apparently almost all of these had fallen except the two that have been mentioned.<sup>4</sup>

The date of King’s imprisonment is not wholly without importance, and here again we are in difficulty. His own testimony is, indeed, very precise. “On the 25th of July, 1689, I, and many others, were arrested and committed to prison.” And equally precise is his statement that on the 4th December, after an incarceration of nearly five months, he was released.<sup>5</sup> But unfortunately King’s recollection of dates is not to be trusted.<sup>6</sup> In the present case he is inconsistent with himself. For from 25th July to 4th December is not “nearly five months.” In fact, it is certain that his arrest took place before 25th July; for on the 24th he wrote to Price asking him to act as Sub-Dean of St. Patrick’s, and in his letter he distinctly states that he was “now under confinement.”<sup>7</sup> It is, I suppose, on the authority of this letter that Mason states definitely that he was sent to the Castle on 24th July.<sup>8</sup> But this is scarcely probable. It is true that a man of King’s vigour and sense of duty would not be likely to let much time pass before he made such arrangements as were possible for the performance of his work at the Cathedral; but even he can scarcely be supposed to have sat down to write letters the moment the doors of his prison were closed behind him; and we must not assume that pens, ink, and paper were at once supplied to him. There is, indeed, evidence which points to his having been deprived of liberty two or three days before he wrote to Henry Price. It cannot be stated very shortly, but as the Church Historians tell us very little about it, and as it is of some interest for its own sake, we need not scruple to devote a few paragraphs to it.

<sup>1</sup> *Worthies*, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> See below, note 187.

<sup>3</sup> S.P.I., chap. III., § 16, p. 202.

<sup>4</sup> One tower was taken down about 1670, another had previously fallen, and the rest were “very crazy” (Bayly’s *Historical Description and Sketch of Dublin Castle*, p. 16). In 1684 the viceregal apartments, which had been destroyed by fire, were rebuilt (*Ib.*, p. 25. Cf. A. R., p. 311). At the end of July, 1689, “the Mid Rampier of the Black Tower” fell (*Great News from the Port of Kingsale in Ireland*, London, 1689).

<sup>5</sup> E. H. R., pp. 318, 319.

<sup>6</sup> He dates his ordination to the priesthood incorrectly (*Worthies*, p. 151). Possibly he is also in error as to the day of his entrance at Trinity College (*Ib.*, p. 149).

<sup>7</sup> Appendix, No. i.

<sup>8</sup> P. 209. Harris gives the date as 29 July in his edition of Ware’s *Bishops of Ireland*, p. 364.



Among those who landed with King James at Kinsale, 12th March, 1689, was one whose chief claim to fame is the prominent place which has been assigned to him in recent controversies on the subject of Anglican Orders. This was John Gordon, some time Bishop of Galloway, in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> John Gordon was born about 1643, in the parish of Ellon, in Buchan, Aberdeenshire. He was thus only seven years senior to William King, and had as his birthplace a parish only a few miles from Barra, the home of King's forbears.<sup>2</sup> His parents were John Gordon, of Coldwells, and Marjory Cheyne, his wife. Of his early life nothing is known except that he took Holy Orders and was a naval chaplain at New York, then lately won for England. It is said that he obtained his bishopric through the influence of Melfort. The congé d'élire was dated 3rd December, 1687; but the Charter under the Great Seal was not signed till 4th February, nor sealed till 4th September, 1688. Gordon was consecrated by John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow, and three other bishops, in Glasgow Cathedral, 19th September, 1688. The interval between his nomination and his consecration was over nine months; he ruled his diocese for a shorter period. The Scottish bishops were dispossessed by Act of Parliament 22nd July, 1689.<sup>3</sup> Gordon had fled from Scotland before the catastrophe came. He was certainly in Dublin that month; he may have arrived sooner. On the 12th of July James appointed him Chancellor and Vicar-General of the diocese.<sup>4</sup> Of his conduct in that office more will be said presently; but we must now recall the few remaining incidents of his career. He remained in Dublin till July, 1690, and then accompanied or followed his patron to St. Germain. There, we are told, he ministered to James's Protestant adherents

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<sup>1</sup> Neither Mant nor Mason seems to have known anything about Gordon. His connexion with the Irish Church is mentioned by the late Professor G. T. Stokes in *The Pope and Anglican Orders, Two Introductory Lectures on the Religious Relations between Rome and England, delivered at the beginning of Michaelmas Term, 1896*, Dublin, 1896, p. 30. But Dr. Stokes appears to have forgotten him when he came to write his Lectures on Archbishop King, published in *Worthies*.

Gordon's case is mentioned in the Bull of Pope Leo XIII. on Anglican Orders (1896, pp. 12 *sqq.*, 37 *sq.*), and is more elaborately discussed in the Reply of the English Archbishops, London, 1897, pp. 13, 38 *sqq.* (English Translation, pp. 14, 43 *sqq.*). The authorities are—S. P. I., chap. III., § 17, p. 205; Leslie, p. 50; a short account of Gordon, written about 1730, and quoted in *Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, edited by Joseph Robertson (Spalding Club), Aberdeen, 1843, p. 305; *Nullité des Ordinations Anglicanes, ou Réfutation du livre intitulé, Dissertation sur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois* [par P. F. Courayer] par Michel Le Quien, Paris, 1725, vol. ii., pp. 312, lxix; *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops down to the year 1688* [by Robert Keith], Edinburgh, 1824, p. 283; *The Question of Anglican Ordinations Discussed*, by E. E. Estcourt, London, 1873, Appendix, p. cxv; the Diocesan Register of Dublin; and the Grant Book of Dublin, 1687–1692, preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> The town of Ellon is about ten miles, as the crow flies, from Barra.

<sup>3</sup> Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1861, vol. iii., p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Dublin Grant Book. The grant of the offices there given, which was signed by Melfort, may have been ante-dated, like others issued in the same year.

according to the forms of the English Prayer-book. Afterwards, however, as the story goes, he was so impressed by the arguments of Bossuet that he determined to leave the Anglican Communion. He went to Rome about 1702 for the purpose, and made his recantation in the presence of Cardinal Sacripante. It is sometimes said that he was baptized conditionally on his reception into the Roman Church;<sup>1</sup> but of this there seems to be no evidence. His assumption of the name Clement is, as we shall see, to be otherwise explained. The Pope was now desirous of giving him certain benefices to which a pension was attached. Accordingly the question of the validity or invalidity of his Anglican Orders had to be decided. Gordon prayed that they should be pronounced null and void; and this was done by Pope Clement XI., 17th April, 1704. Direction was at the same time given that he should be confirmed. He then received the tonsure from the Pope, and on this occasion (as Le Quien tells us) was given the name Clement. The minor orders were conferred upon him by Archbishop Casoni in the Church of St. Mary Major. These being sufficient to enable him to hold the benefices which the Pope designed for him, he did not proceed to the higher orders. He was henceforth known at Rome as Abbot Clement. He died in 1726.

It has been necessary to mention these facts in order that the part of Gordon's career which synchronizes with King's imprisonment may be understood. For it our authorities are a brief statement in the *State of the Protestants*, with Leslie's answer thereto, the Diocesan Register of Dublin, the Dublin Grant Book, the allusions in our Diary, and the letters collected in the Appendix. The first notice of Gordon in the Register is the record of what seems to have been his first ecclesiastical act in Dublin, the appointment of William Budworth as his apparitor. The instrument is dated 22nd July, 1689. In it he describes himself as "Vicarius in spiritualibus generalis ac officialis principalis curiae consistorialis metropoliticae Dublin necnon cancellarius ejusdem dioceseos regia auctoritate rite et legitime constitutus."<sup>2</sup> He was appointed to his offices of Vicar-General, Official Principal, and Chancellor of the Diocese by James II. He was at once recognised by the Registrar: for the handwriting which records his acts is the same as that in which the deed of appointment of King and Foley is written on a previous page. His apparitor having been appointed, he lost no time, and proceeded to rule his new diocese with a strong hand. On the 23rd July he licensed two surgeons. It is somewhat significant that they both bear the name of Gordon. These are the first of a considerable number of licences of the same kind issued by him in July, August, and September.<sup>3</sup> On the same day, 23rd July, he granted probate

<sup>1</sup> *Responsio Archiepiscoporum Angliæ*, p. 38 (E. T., p. 43).

<sup>2</sup> The same titles, with the addition of the words "seu Commissarius Generalis," are found in the deed of appointment.

<sup>3</sup> On the illegality of these acts, see Appendix, No. ii., note 3.

of a will. But presently he exercised his authority in another and more strictly ecclesiastical direction. The number of sequestrations carried out under his régime is surprising. The Rev. Thomas Hamleton was appointed sequestrator of Swords, Malahide, Killossery, and Killeek, vacant by the absence of Henry Scardevile; the Rev. Thomas Tucker, of Donnybrook and Rathfarnham "cum annexis," vacant by the resignation of John Fitzgerald, Archdeacon of Dublin; Lewis Griffith, of Chapelizod, Palmerston and Ballyfermot "cum annexis," of Castleknock, of Mulhuddart, and of Clonsilla, vacant by the absence of the several incumbents; Richard Hawkshaw, of Donoughmore, of O'Male (= Imall), of Hollywood, of Donard "cum annexis," of Dunlavin, and of Castledermot "cum annexis"; and the following parishes were sequestered, the sequestrator not being named: Tallaght, Templeshandon, Templeogue, Whitechurch, Cruagh, Wicklow "cum annexis" (vizt. Drumkey, *alias* Castlemacadam, Kilpoole), and Innisbohen. Authority for all these sequestrations was apparently given between the 8th and 17th August. I have observed only one case in which provision was made by Gordon for the spiritual needs of the Diocese. On the 18th September Nicholas Richardson was licensed by him as curate of St. Bride's. This can hardly have been done with the consent of the Incumbent, Dr. Foy.

There were other parts of Gordon's activity of which the Diocesan Register takes no notice. One of these was the Administration of Wills. Of this King tells us "he made his advantage," in spite of all attempts to defeat him. "He cited the Widow or Relation of any deceased Person; and if they refused to appear, he granted Administrations to some of his own Creatures, and they came by force and took away the Goods of the Defunct."<sup>1</sup> He also claimed the power to grant licences for Marriages, in connexion with which an incident of his rule in Dublin must be mentioned hereafter.

Gordon's practice of issuing licences to surgeons led him further, probably, than he foresaw when he began it. There was little use in licensing surgeons if others acted in that capacity, without a thought of seeking a licence from him. And there were many such. Of necessity, therefore, he cited and excommunicated the unlicensed surgeons. One of these excommunications was directed against a surgeon named Clinton, a parishioner of St. Werburgh's, and in the absence of the incumbent it came into the hands of the sexton of the church, Richard Bulkeley, who on the 2nd of September brought it to the Castle, and showed it to his old pastor, Dean King.<sup>2</sup> This was, it seems, the first intimation which the Dean received of the proceedings of the intruding Chancellor. And on this fact two remarks must be made.

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<sup>1</sup> The record of the many probates granted by him 23rd July, 1689, to 1st July, 1690, may be seen in the Grant Book.

<sup>2</sup> See below, Sept. 2nd, 4th, and note 141.



First, as to the date of King's incarceration. King was very wide awake. It seems quite impossible that, if he had been at liberty when Gordon took possession of the Register of the Diocese, appointed Budworth his apparitor, and began to preside in the Court of Probate, he should have known nothing about it. Hence we appear to be constrained to believe that King had been sent to the Castle at least as early as the 22nd July.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, we must observe the vigour and promptness of the imprisoned Dean. He saw at once the danger of the situation, he clearly grasped the legal aspect of the case, and devised a scheme for checkmating the Bishop. The day after the excommunication reached him, he wrote a letter to Dopping, Bishop of Meath; and a correspondence between the friends ensued, some of the letters of which may be read in our Appendix,<sup>2</sup> while the contents of the rest can easily be guessed with the help of the Diary. Dopping most readily fell in with the main part of King's suggestion, which was this: that the Chapters of Christ Church and St. Patrick's should meet, and that each Chapter should select a guardian of the spiritualities. The persons (or if the Chapters agreed in their choice, the person) so elected would have legal authority to govern the diocese, *sede vacante*. By the beginning of the next week (9th September) King had written to the Sub-Dean directing him to call a meeting of the Chapter of St. Patrick's.<sup>3</sup> The Chapter was duly summoned; and the next day the Prebendary of St. Audoen's came to consult the Dean as to the procedure to be adopted. But, alas, Henry Price was not such a man as William King; and his efforts to get a Guardian of the Spiritualities elected were for the time unsuccessful. The Chapter minutes are very brief:

"Tuesday the 10<sup>th</sup> of Sep<sup>r</sup> 1689.

"Then Mr Price, Mr Finglass, Mr Syddall [Prebendary of Tipperkevin], . . . Graton [Preb. of Howth], Mr Jackson [Preb. of Stagonil], Mr Hewetson [Preb. of Tassagard and Vicar of St. Andrew's] did adjourne till thursday in y<sup>e</sup> afternoone.

"12 of September.

"Then adjourned untill the 14<sup>th</sup> day of this Instant."

No meeting seems to have been held on the 14th, and nothing more was done for nearly a month. On the 10th October King wrote a letter of strong remonstrance to Price,<sup>4</sup> in consequence of which the members of the Chapter were summoned to meet on pain of suspension, and on the following Thursday, 24th October, Anthony Dopping was appointed

<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is perhaps confirmed by a notice of the prorogation of Parliament at 12th November. See note 362.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. ii.-v. A letter from Dopping, and King's answer to it, are wanting between Nos. ii., iii.; also a letter from Dopping between Nos. iv., v.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix No. v.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix No. vi.

Guardian of the Spiritualities. What the Christ Church Chapter did at this juncture is not on record. A meeting was held on the 23rd October at which the Chancellor (Michael Jephson), acting as Sub-Dean, and the Prebendaries of St. Michael (John Francis) and St. John (Thomas Bladen) were present. But there is no minute of business done.<sup>1</sup> However, it is quite certain that then or subsequently Christ Church concurred in the choice made by St. Patrick's, and thus Anthony Dopping became ruler of the diocese of Dublin.<sup>2</sup>

One question must here receive a short answer. It may be asked, What was the need for bringing this complicated machinery into action? Had not King been already duly appointed commissary by Marsh? Why could he not act, or delegate someone else to act, without authority from the Chapters? King himself replies.<sup>3</sup> Marsh was attainted by James II.'s Parliament of 1689. The see, therefore, was vacant. James being (as King held) lawful king of Ireland, and the Acts of the Irish parliament having legal validity, the moment the great Act of Attainder received the Royal assent Marsh ceased to be Archbishop. He was an outlaw. And that same moment King's commission from Marsh lapsed. The see was as really vacant and the diocese as truly without a lawful ruler as if the Archbishop had died. The only wonder is that King, who now saw the consequences of the Act of Attainder, did not perceive them months before. If he had done so before his imprisonment, much confusion and trouble would have been averted. As it was, the action of the Chapters was entirely successful. The clergy refused to publish Gordon's excommunications; they heeded not his citations. Except in the matter of the administration of wills, which did not belong to the Guardian of the Spiritualities as such, he became powerless. The last act of his recorded in the Register is dated 4th October—the licence of a midwife.

Dopping was now nominal head of the clergy of Dublin, but the power was still in the hands of the Dean of St. Patrick's. On this point his

<sup>1</sup> Chapter Minutes. I depend on a copy of the original minutes kept at the cathedral, in which there may be some variations from the original. Thus, for example, the note of the seizure of the church, 26th October, 1689, comes before the record of the Chapter meeting of the 3rd September.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. I., *ut sup.*

<sup>3</sup> Appendix No. ii. Cp. E. H. R., p. 318. The reasons here given are *mutatis mutandis* those of the deed appointing Gordon Vicar-General: "Scians quod quum officium seu officia Vicarii in spiritualibus generalis . . . Dioceseos Dublin ac provincie ad Reverendissimum Dubliniensem Archiepiscopum spectantia ratione absentie ab hoc Regno nostro Hibernie minime per nos licentiate venerabilis viri Johannis Topham . . . necnon Reverendissimo in Christo patre ac Domino, Domino Francisco providentia divina Dublin Archiepiscopo . . . pariter sese absentante ab hoc regno nostro predicto Hibernie necnon par offensioſi contra coronam ac dignitatem nostram vacuum seu vacua merito censentur et ad nos nostrique plenam ac liberam dispositionem . . . de jure spectat spectantque seu spectare debet ac debent," etc. The king had power to appoint a Vicar-General. But if the Chapters nominated a Guardian of the Spiritualities, the king's Vicar-General could not interfere, nor exercise purely spiritual functions, such as the issue of excommunications, &c.



own words are express, and we have good reason to believe them.<sup>1</sup> He ruled diligently and with success. "With his consent," he writes, "I ordered all things in the diocese. Many of the clergy had fled into England, and thus most of the parochial churches were left without pastors. But I provided clergy for them all. Some who had been driven from their benefices by the Papists were living in the more remote parts of the kingdom, and they willingly offered themselves to perform parochial duties in parishes which had been deserted by their proper pastors. Hence, not a single church in the entire diocese remained without a curate during the whole time of the tyranny. And though the Papists in many places kept possession of the Parish Churches, the Curates, in spite of this, performed the services in private houses."<sup>2</sup>

But now another entry in the Diocesan Register claims our attention. We have seen that Gordon kept in his own hands the issuing of marriage licences. Now Lewis Griffith, the sequestrator, as has been already noted, of several parishes, had ventured to solemnize marriages without the licence of the Vicar-General. For this and other offences he was excommunicated. Francis Marsh returned from his exile, and resumed his position as Archbishop immediately after the Boyne. Griffith applied to him for redress, and he formally re-admitted him to Communion. It seems that Marsh did not agree with the contention of King and his legal advisers, that the excommunications of Gordon were null and void. But possibly the excommunication had been duly published before the Chapters elected a Guardian of the Spiritualities. Anyhow the document engrossed in the Register is a highly remarkable one. For in it Marsh describes the Vicar-General of King James as "*Reverendissimus in Christo pater ac Dominus Johannes providentia divina nuper Dubliniensis Archiepiscopus.*" He actually recognises the usurping Vicar-General to have had the same claim which he himself possessed to the title of Archbishop of Dublin—a title which, so far as we know, Gordon never assumed!

We may indeed well ask, What position in the Church of Ireland did Gordon actually claim to hold? He described himself as Vicar-General and Chancellor of Dublin. But either of these offices, let us observe, might have been held by a layman.<sup>3</sup> We have no evidence that Gordon ever performed in Ireland a single episcopal nor even a single clerical act. And when this is borne in mind, King's short account of him, the earliest notice of his career which we possess, with the exception of the documents relating to his appointment to the See of Galloway and the records of his official acts in Dublin, is most significant. King James,

<sup>1</sup> He evidently acted without reference to Dopping in the matter of the daily service at St. John's Church. See below, note 254.

<sup>2</sup> E. H. R., p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> All Gordon's offices were actually held by Sir John Topham. Cp. above, p. 128, note 3.



he tells us, "appointed one Gordon, who called himself Bishop of Galloway in Scotland, to be Chancellor in the Diocess of Dublin; this Gordon was a very ignorant lewd Man, and a profest Papist." Leslie vigorously repudiates both the statement of fact and the insinuation conveyed by these words. King's remark, he writes, "was notoriously false (if we may believe the *Irish Protestants* who were then in Dublin), for this bishop was then, and all along, a *Profest Protestant*, and, as I have heard, a man of Learning and Parts. But if he had been a *Papist* (whether in Masquerade or otherwise), I would gladly know this Author's Opinion, Whether that would have *Un-Bishop'd* him?" King had made some preparations for a reply to Leslie's book; and his notes are preserved in the collection of Mrs. Lyons.<sup>1</sup> His remark on this passage is brief but interesting: "The B'p of Galway, a papist, never went in clergymens habite." Thus King reiterates the assertion that Gordon was a "profest Papist"; and he adds the information that in Dublin he posed as a layman. As a witness to facts Leslie cannot stand against King. King was on the spot, and must have had good evidence of the truth or falsity of what he wrote. Leslie confesses that he had his knowledge at second-hand from certain Irish Protestants in Dublin. King must have either lied deliberately and maliciously, or spoken the truth. And it is to be remembered that though his statements about Gordon may have been prompted by rancour, they cannot have been suggested by the subsequent career of the Bishop of Galloway. It was not till some years after the *State of the Protestants* was published that Gordon professed to have been convinced by the eloquence of Bossuet. Ten years and more had passed before he was formally received into the Roman Communion, and "unbished" himself by his petition to the Holy Office. And, on the other hand, these later events signally confirm the testimony of King. There is certainly nothing improbable in the supposition that the man who determined to take the final step of abandoning the Church of his fathers under the influence of Bossuet, should have drifted away from Anglican teaching years before; or that the man who in 1704 used strong language about "the pseudo-bishops of the Protestants," and renounced his own orders, should have been content in 1689 to use the title "*Episcopus Gallovidiensis*" in official documents, while at the same time indicating his doubts about the validity of his episcopal consecration by wearing the dress of a layman. It was not, we may be sure, from Bossuet that he first heard of the Nag's Head fable, upon which he afterwards based much of his argument against Anglican Orders.

There may indeed seem to be a difficulty in the way of accepting King's statement. It is commonly said, as we have already observed,

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<sup>1</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix to Second Report, p. 236.

that Gordon ministered to English Churchmen at St. Germain after he had left Dublin. Are we to suppose that when he did this he had practically abandoned the Anglican Communion? Let us say at once that the unlikelihood does not appear to us to be very great. When King held services for his fellow-prisoners in the Castle, there were Roman Catholics among those who took advantage of his ministrations;<sup>1</sup> and in so doing they certainly did not act under any compulsion from those in authority. If James, then, for reasons of policy, ordered Gordon to act as chaplain to his Protestant adherents at St. Germain, it is scarcely to be thought that he would refuse to do so. As yet he had made no formal recantation of his 'heresy.' But we may go further. It is quite possible that the looseness of his hold on Anglican principles would lead to his selection for such an office. Gordon was not the only English Divine in the Jacobite Court. That sturdy Protestant Dennis Granville, Dean and Archdeacon of Durham, Bishop Cosin's son-in-law, was there also; and of his life at St. Germain we have a brief notice which deserves to be quoted. Some time after the exiled King arrived in France—

"A protestant Party began to distinguish themselves, and endeavour to make an appearance at that Court. The first considerable step they made, was to desire a Chappel from King *James*, for the exercise of their Worship according to the Church of *England*, and propos'd Dr. *Granvil* Brother to the Earl of *Bath*, formerly Dean of *Durham*, as a fit Person to be their Chaplain; they urged the great Incouragement, such a Toleration would give to his Adherents in *England*, and what satisfaction it would be to such protestants as followed him; but tho' common Policy, and his Circumstances made every Body believe that this Request would be easily granted, yet it was positively denied, and Dr. *Granville* obliged not only to retire from Court, but also from the Town of *St. Germain* to avoid the daily insults of the priests, and the dreaded Consequences of the Jealousies with which they possest't (*sic*) King *James's* Court against him."<sup>2</sup>

From this passage, combined with the evidence of Dean Granville's own letters, the Rev. Roger Granville draws what seems to be the just inference, that the refusal of the request of the Protestants that Granville should be their chaplain was due to the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy by whom James was surrounded.<sup>3</sup> May not the permission accorded to Gordon have been a compromise? His leaning towards Rome would remove objections on the part of the Roman Catholics; his former position in the Church of Scotland would secure him acceptance, if not a cordial welcome, on the part of the Anglicans. And may not

<sup>1</sup> See 22 September.

<sup>2</sup> *A View of the Court of St. Germain, from the Year 1690, to 95, With an account of the Entertainment Protestants meet with there*, Dublin, 1696, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *The Life of the Honble. and Very Revd. Dennis Granville, D.D., Exeter, 1902*, p. 396.

the petition in favour of Granville have been due to the dissatisfaction with which Anglicans like Sir Edward Herbert regarded the ministrations of the Romanizing Bishop?

All this seems quite possible; but I must be candid, and express my conviction that the grounds for believing that Gordon ministered as an Anglican at St. Germain are very slight. Keith is the only one of our authorities who makes such a statement; and he wrote, or at least printed, as late as 1755.<sup>1</sup> Against his evidence must be placed that of the author of the *View of the Court of St. Germain*, a strictly contemporary witness. The sentence which follows the passage already quoted from him runs thus:—

“Dr. Gordon, a Bishop of *Scotland*, the only protestant Divine that then was there, met with a worse Treatment still than Dr. *Granville*, and was reduced to the necessity of abjuring his Religion for want of Bread, with which he could not be Supplied, but upon those hard terms.”

There is here no word of Gordon being allowed to minister at his lodgings to Protestants—the whole context implies the contrary. Moreover, we have in this sentence evidence, which can scarcely be resisted, that already, seven years before he settled at Rome, the Scottish Bishop had renounced his Anglican beliefs. These are facts which bring into serious doubt Keith's statement as to Gordon's ministry at St. Germain, and which strongly corroborate King's affirmation that even so early as 1689 he was a “profest Papist,” though not yet formally received into the Roman communion.

But we must leave Gordon. On the day when the armies of William and James were contending at the Boyne for the possession of Ireland, he was quietly at work in Dublin. He granted probate of a will on the 1st of July, 1690; and from that day forward he is heard of in Ireland no more.

While King lay in prison, reports, not always correct, reached him of the war which was dragging on its weary length. We must now try to gather together the leading facts to which those reports related.

After the decisive defeat at Newtown Butler and the relief of Derry, the troops which had been seeking to harass the Enniskilleners retired. Sarsfield, who had been in the neighbourhood of Sligo, retreated at once to Athlone;<sup>2</sup> the Duke of Berwick, who had been further north, made for

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<sup>1</sup> The same thing was asserted, at a much earlier date, with regard to Dr. Ralph Taylor, “a famous Nonjuror, who was formerly Rector of *Stoke Severn*, near *Worcester*; and choosing to follow the Fortunes of King *James* the Second at the Revolution, he was some Years Chaplain at *St. Germain*s to the Protestants of the Court of that unhappy Prince.”—*The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. xxv. (by A. Boyer), p. 124. Compare J. H. Overton's *Nonjurors*, London, 1902, p. 311 sq. It is not probable that there were two Anglican chaplains at the Court.

<sup>2</sup> *Macaria Excidium*, p. 38.



Newry.<sup>1</sup> A few days later Schomberg found it possible to cross the Channel. About half his troops embarked at Hoylake on the 12th August, and landed at Groomsport, near Bangor, on the following day. The rest followed after the interval of a day or two.<sup>2</sup> James no sooner heard the news of Schomberg's landing than he determined to concentrate his army at Drogheda, and there to resist his march to Dublin. Orders were issued to the commanders in the field accordingly. Sir Charles Carney held the Bann at Coleraine. He was instructed to abandon it and hasten to Charlemont.<sup>3</sup> About 17th August he took his departure, and immediately a party of the Enniskilleners, who had reached Derry a couple of days before, entered the deserted town. When they were joined by their comrades under Kirk, they marched thence and joined the army of Schomberg.<sup>4</sup> James's Brigadier, Maxwell, "commanded at Carrickfergus, Belfast, and all betwixt that and the Newry, having but two regiments of foot in a bad condition, one troop of horse, and a few ill-armed dragoons." He too hastened southwards, and repaired to Newry, leaving MacCarthy More's regiment and a part of Cormac O'Neill's as a garrison at Carrickfergus.<sup>5</sup>

Berwick's orders were to delay the enemy as much as possible.<sup>6</sup> Time was, indeed, everything to James. If he was to make any stand against Schomberg, he must gather a strong force at Drogheda. And Schomberg certainly helped his plans. It may have been good generalship to attack Carrickfergus, but it gave James an extra week to collect his army. On the 20th August Schomberg (who had reached Belfast on the 17th) sent thither five regiments, and seven more on the following day. Fruitless negotiations followed, and on the 22nd the siege began. After a gallant defence, the town capitulated at noon on the 27th, and on the 28th the garrison marched out, on a promise that they should be allowed to proceed with their arms to Newry.<sup>7</sup> Charlemont was now the only considerable place of strength in the North which held for James.<sup>8</sup> While Schomberg lay before Carrickfergus, on the 26th, James left Dublin, and reached Drogheda the same day, leaving Tyrconnell behind to hurry up more troops.<sup>9</sup> Carrickfergus taken, Schomberg's advance began. The Jacobites retreated before him till he reached Newry. Here, by a clever *ruse*, Berwick succeeded in outwitting him.

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, p. 373.

<sup>2</sup> See below, notes 15, 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Life*, p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton, p. 47, where we are told that "the News coming to Colrain, that the Inneskilling Horse were joined (*sic*) with the Maj. General, and that they were all on their march towards that place, the Garison there deserted the place and fled towards Charlemont." This is perhaps not inconsistent with the statement that they left in obedience to orders from headquarters.

<sup>5</sup> *Life*, p. 372.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 373.

<sup>7</sup> Story, pp. 7-10; S. P. D., pp. 226, 231; J. N., p. 87.

<sup>8</sup> Buchan was there, with a regiment of foot, and some of Purcell's dragoons (*Life*, p. 372).

<sup>9</sup> *Life*, p. 373 *sq.*; Nibell, p. 221.

By making liberal use of his trumpets he persuaded Schomberg that he was in command of a large force, and the cautious Williamite forbade his advance guard of Enniskilleners to attack. The next morning he advanced in force, only to find that the town was partly in ashes, and Berwick gone.<sup>1</sup> This was on the 5th September. Berwick marched (perhaps by Carlingford, which he burnt) to Dundalk and thence to Drogheda.<sup>2</sup> Schomberg, having allowed his army a day's rest at Newry, moved on to Dundalk on the 7th. He selected for his camp there a spot about a mile north of the town.<sup>3</sup> In that place he was destined to remain inactive, with all his troops, for two months. On the 16th he began to entrench his position,<sup>4</sup> seeing no immediate prospect of any further advance towards the South.

Meanwhile James was not idle. He was joined at Drogheda by Tyrconnell, 5th September, and two days afterwards by Berwick.<sup>5</sup> On the 14th he began to march northwards. That day the entire army reached Ardee, 14 miles north-west of Drogheda. On the 16th the cavalry and dragoons went a few miles further on the road to Dundalk, crossing the Glyde at Mapastown, to select a place for a camp. The rest of the army followed on the 17th; and the camp was formed on the south bank of the Fane, with the right at Allerstown<sup>6</sup> and the left near Knockbridge. The armies were now only about three miles apart, each afraid to attack the other, while the scouts "stood usually within a quarter of a mile of each other." On Saturday, the 21st, James attempted to draw Schomberg from his trenches. He led a strong force towards Dundalk. Schomberg let them come within musket shot of his camp, and would not stir. Finding that the Williamites would not leave their trenches, James retreated to his camp on the Fane, and within the next few days burnt it and fell back on Ardee, 6th October. There his army lay till the 1st November, when he began to disperse it to winter quarters.<sup>7</sup> He himself went to Drogheda on the 3rd with six battalions of foot, leaving a force of six battalions of foot and fifty horse under

<sup>1</sup> Story, pp. 11-13; S. P. D., p. 251; Nibell, p. 221; *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick écrits par lui-même*, 1778, vol. i., p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Story, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Life*, p. 377; Story, p. 16; *Mémoires du M. de Berwick, ut sup.*, and below, 5th September.

<sup>6</sup> Petty's map of the County Louth (1685) marks Lower Allaristown—immediately south of which was Upper Allaristown—on the right bank of the Fane, two or three miles below the bridge of Knock, where the next bridge (the bridge of Fane), spanned the stream. Mr. J. R. Garstin, F.S.A., points out to me that in the Townland Index of 1851, it is called Allardstown, and is described as a townland of 596 acres in the parish of Killincoole. The name does not appear in the Ordnance map. Hence some modern writers have absurdly substituted for it Tallanstown, which lies four miles to the south on the River Glyde.

<sup>7</sup> *Life*, pp. 378-382; Story, pp. 18-28, 33; S. P. D., pp. 272, 286; *Relation*, p. 6 sqq.; Nibell, p. 221 sq.

Boiseleau, as a garrison at Ardee.<sup>1</sup> Schomberg, finding that the Jacobites had taken their departure, gladly followed the example of James, and abandoned the pestilential camp, where "fever and flux" had been playing frightful havoc with his army. Having sent such of the sick as could be moved by sea from Carlingford to Belfast, he gave the order to march on the 6th. On the 7th twelve regiments or more started for the North; on the 9th the remainder of the army followed. Within an hour after their departure from Dundalk the town was in the hands of the enemy.<sup>2</sup> Schomberg's headquarters were now fixed at Lisburn, his troops being quartered partly at Armagh and partly in the villages between Lisburn and Newry.<sup>3</sup> James, having left garrisons at Ardee, Drogheda, and other places, returned to Dublin on the 8th.<sup>4</sup>

It was on the eve of his departure from Dundalk that belated news reached Schomberg of a disaster in Connaught. It was in that province, indeed, that the only notable engagements of the campaign, after Carrickfergus, took place; and we must retrace our steps to follow the course of events there.

A considerable interval elapsed after Newtown Butler before the Enniskilleners who had not joined Schomberg performed any notable deeds. But early in September, Wolseley sent Sir Albert Cunningham with some troops to Sligo, followed on the 10th by Lloyd with three troops of horse. Thence on the 19th, Lloyd led a force of about 450 men—horse, foot, and dragoons—to Ballinafad and over the Curlew Mountains, and the next morning, encountering a force of the enemy under O'Kelly outside Boyle, defeated them, and took possession of the town. The Jacobite force consisted of not more than 500 or 600 foot, and some 300 horse. They lost, according to Lloyd, considerably more than 200 killed and about 75 prisoners. His own loss was 1 killed and 3 wounded. Cunningham commanded the dragoons. Lloyd's instructions were, after taking Boyle, to press on to Jamestown. This he did not venture to do, the enemy being very numerous in Sligo and Roscommon.<sup>5</sup> However, this town was also captured ten days later, 1st October.<sup>6</sup> These victories caused great rejoicings in the camp at

<sup>1</sup> *Relation*, p. 14, where I assume that 13 and 18 are misprints for 3 and 8; *Life*, p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> *Story*, pp. 35-37.

<sup>3</sup> *S. P. D.*, p. 320; *Story* gives details, p. 38. Compare also *S. P. D.*, p. 334.

<sup>4</sup> *Life*, p. 383 *sq.*; *Relation*, p. 74; and below, 8 November.

<sup>5</sup> *An Exact Account of the Royal Army under the Command of His Grace Duke Schomberg, with the Particulars of a Great Defeat given to the Irish Army near Boyle, London, 1689*—a letter from Dundalk, dated 16th October, 1689. With this is incorporated Lloyd's despatch to Schomberg. Compare below, note 216. *Story*, p. 25, makes Lloyd's force to consist of 1000 men, and the enemy he reckons as "about 5000." O'Kelly, he informs us, was among the prisoners; which is an error: O'Kelly's portmanteau was captured, but not himself. On the other hand, a Jacobite writer reduces "this mighty action" to "a skirmish between a small band of that county [Sligo] militia and a troop of rebels, wherein three of the loyalists fell, and that number twice told of the enemy" (*Nibell*, p. 223).

<sup>6</sup> *Story*, p. 28; *S. P. D.*, p. 283.



Dundalk,<sup>1</sup> but they led to no permanent result. On the 30th September James sent two regiments of foot to Sligo.<sup>2</sup> They were followed early in October by Berwick "with a considerable body of horse," whose aim was, according to Story to rescue Mountcashel, but more probably to check Lloyd.<sup>3</sup> Another force of four regiments—Luttrell's Horse, O'Neill's Dragoons, and two of infantry, all under the command of Sarsfield—marched from the Fane for the same place, apparently on the 6th.<sup>4</sup> Schomberg replied (8th October) by despatching "a detachment of the Inniskillen Horse and Foot, Colonel Russell's Horse, and eight grenadiers out of every Regiment" to keep a pass in the direction of Sligo.<sup>5</sup> Berwick fell sick a day or two after he left the Jacobite camp, and repaired to Dublin.<sup>6</sup> Sarsfield made at once for Jamestown, which place he reached, it seems, on the 15th.<sup>7</sup> A news-letter states that Lloyd had arrived there two hours before him, and was besieged.<sup>8</sup> Story is perhaps more correct when he says that the place was abandoned without a struggle on the approach of the Jacobite troops. The next day Sarsfield advanced to Sligo, whereupon Russell, who was in the town, ingloriously retreated to Ballyshannon without striking a blow, while Lloyd and de Sauveur took refuge in "the two forts at the end" of the town. Lloyd escaped the same night, but de Sauveur made a gallant defence of his fort, and did not surrender till the third day, when no more provisions were left.<sup>9</sup> The news did not reach Schomberg till 2nd November, when he immediately despatched reinforcements.<sup>10</sup> What they accomplished does not appear to be recorded. Thus ended the memorable Irish campaign of 1689. Whatever advantage was gained during its later months was on the side of James.

All this time King remained a prisoner. The history of his confinement must be read in his Diary. Towards the end, however, it

<sup>1</sup> See below, note 227.

<sup>3</sup> Story, p. 28. Cp. below, note 221.

<sup>2</sup> Nibell, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> *Life*, p. 381; S. P. D., p. 287.

<sup>5</sup> Story, p. 28; S. P. D., p. 287. There is a confusion as to dates. The *Life* puts the expedition of Sarsfield after, and in consequence of, the despatch of Russell by Schomberg, and before the return to Ardee on the 6th October. But Story is supported by Schomberg's despatch in S. P. D. Schomberg states that the force 'consists of 400 dragoons.'

<sup>6</sup> See below, 5, 9 October. I assume that the report which reached Story that Berwick had started for Connaught was correct.

<sup>7</sup> For the date I depend on *A full and true Account of all the Remarkable Actions and Things that have happen'd in the North of Ireland, Since the 15th of November, to the 7th Instant* . . . (a letter from Lisburn, dated 7th December, 1689), which may probably be trusted thus far, though it has clearly passed through the hands of the censor.

<sup>8</sup> S. P. D., p. 305.

<sup>9</sup> Story, p. 34. Compare *Life*, p. 383. Lloyd was in the 'Green Fort,' de Sauveur in the 'Stone Fort,' on which, and on all the events here referred to, see Wood-Martin, *History of Sligo from the Accession of James I. to the Revolution of 1688*, Dublin 1889, p. 98 sqq. Compare also his *Sligo and the Enniskilleners from 1688-1691*, 2nd ed., 1882, p. 105 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> Story, p. 33; S. P. D., p. 313.

fails us, and we are obliged to fall back on the brief narrative of his Autobiography. We may leave the reader to translate his curious Latin.

"Dissolutâ militiâ ex utrâque parte, et exercitibus in Hybernâ reductis, visum erat Iacobo regi incarceratos protestantes liberos dimittere sub cautione fidei iussorum, deliberatum erat de me inter alios dimittendo, opponente se meae libertati summo iusticiario Regii Tribunalis in Hybernâ Thoma Nogentio, at pro me stabat amicus mihi antiquus Edwardus Herbert, eques, tunc Cancellarius Angliae per Iacobum declaratus, qui et ipse religionem reformatam constanter professus est, et multorum bonorum quantum in se fuit omnibus eiusdem religionis professoribus extitit, in omnibus enim difficultatibus et angustiis ipsis se exhibuit patronum et defensorem. Accessit etiam ipse Comes Tirconnell et accusante me iusticiario, quod in concionibus meis perfidiam in regem docere solebam, respondet Herbertus se me saepius audivisse concionantem nec unquam aliquid contra regem aut obedientiam ipsi debitam animadvertisse, sed e contra semper cum occasio esset me strenue fidem in regem docuisse, et mirum sibi videri quod iusticiarius qui nunquam concionanti mihi adfuisset contrarium assereret, nullo teste aurito producto quo crimen in me probaretur. Adiecit praeterea etiamsi verum esset quod obiciebatur me libertate scilicet male usurum tamen minus noxae rebus regis contingeret in praesente rerum statu ex perverso usu meae libertatis quam ex invidiâ in regem oriundâ a detentione meâ in carcere sine aliquâ causâ. Sic tandem, scilicet 4 Decembris 1689, post fere quinque mensalem incarcerationis libertati restitutus officia functionis me diligenter obivi."<sup>1</sup>

The statement that the liberation took place on the 4th December must be taken for what it is worth. A later date would suit better the assertions that his imprisonment lasted nearly five months, and that in the case of most Protestants it ended at Christmas.<sup>2</sup> But there is no evidence enabling us to fix the date more definitely.

Dean King was once more sent to the Castle in June, 1690. Here again there is a conflict of testimony as to the date. King himself puts it about the beginning of the month. Two other respectable witnesses, with all appearance of accuracy, imply that he was arrested some three weeks later.<sup>3</sup> We need not now discuss the matter. It is quite certain that the victory of the Boyne set him free. His sufferings had their reward in the Bishopric of Derry, for which he was consecrated 25th January,

<sup>1</sup> E. H. R., p. 319. Compare Mason, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. I., table of contents, referring to p. 92. Mason (p. 210) says that King was present at a Chapter, 9th December, but I find no record in the Minute Book of a meeting that day. On the 14th citations were sent out for the Dean's annual Visitation. It seems likely that King was present when this was done, but it is incapable of proof.

<sup>3</sup> E. H. R., p. 319; *Full and True Account* states that King was not imprisoned till after the news of King William's landing had reached Dublin, that is, considerably later than 14th June; while *A True and Perfect Journal of the Affairs in Ireland since His Majesties Arrival in that Kingdom*, by a Person of Quality, London, 1690, (quoted in *Worthies*, p. 191), gives 24th June as the day.



1690-1. In 1703-4 he was translated to Dublin. A vigorous episcopate closed with his death, 8th May, 1729. He lies in the churchyard of St. Mary's, Donnybrook, in a spot which cannot now be identified.

In his Autobiography, King informs us that during his first imprisonment he kept a Diary of all that he observed. That that Diary is the one now printed can scarcely be doubted. The original manuscript is the property of Captain J. A. Gordon King, Scots Guards, of Tertowie, Aberdeenshire, the representative in Scotland of the family to which the Archbishop belonged. It is preserved at Tertowie, within a few miles of Barra, the home of his ancestors. The manuscript is said to be in the Archbishop's hand, and most readers of it will agree that it bears upon its face the marks of genuineness. Unfortunately it is only a fragment. At the beginning, if the numbering is correct, twenty-six pages have been lost. A few seem also to be missing at the end.<sup>1</sup> There remain in all eighty-nine, apparently not three-quarters of the entire record.

It remains to say a few words with reference to the present edition. It has not been possible for me to consult the manuscript. Captain Gordon King placed in my hands a transcript, a large part of which he had written himself, and the whole of which he had most carefully compared with the original. When I had read the copy, some places in which error seemed possible were again examined. Finally, Captain Gordon King was so kind as to correct the proof from the autograph, paying special attention to some proper names which a study of contemporary documents led me to suppose might have been misread. There is, therefore, good reason to hope that at least substantial accuracy has been secured. The pages of the autograph are for the most part numbered, though sometimes incorrectly. The number given in the manuscript to each page is here printed in square brackets at the beginning of the page to which it belongs. The beginnings of pages which are without number in the original are marked by asterisks enclosed in brackets. Where the text cannot now be read it is sometimes conjecturally restored, the restored letters being enclosed in square brackets; but more commonly conjecture is useless, and the illegible portions are represented by rows of dots.

My best thanks are due to Captain Gordon King for his ready response to my request that I might be allowed to prepare an edition of his interesting manuscript, and for the valuable aid which he has given me in so doing. I must express my gratitude to Mrs. Lyons for permission to examine her magnificent collection of letters and other documents connected with Archbishop King. To several friends I am also much indebted for permitting me to make free use of their stores of antiquarian learning.

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<sup>1</sup> But see below, note 403.



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## THE DIARY.

\* \* \* \* \*

[27]—*August 11.*—I preached twice on Luke 18. 9.<sup>1</sup> Our fellow-prisoners had a promise to be admitted to come up to us, but y<sup>e</sup> promise was not performed only M<sup>r</sup> Vaughan<sup>2</sup> came in the afternoon. we observed much joy amongst the soldiers, cornelius came up & told us y<sup>t</sup> 14<sup>m</sup> french were landed in the west, y<sup>e</sup> french fleet having gotten out from brest by reason y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> English who blockt y<sup>m</sup> up were scattered by a storm,<sup>3</sup> at dinner an officer came up to us & told us y<sup>e</sup> good news,<sup>4</sup> we asked how many ships were come, he answered 35 or 45. I hear 20<sup>m</sup> men in y<sup>m</sup>. we had further information in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon y<sup>t</sup> all this was only an express was come from france y<sup>t</sup> the fleet was not yet come, but were ready to set sail, y<sup>t</sup> they consisted of 60 men of war, 40 tenders &

(1) The first verse of the Gospel for the day—the 11th Sunday after Trinity.

(2) One of twelve gentlemen who were arrested on the same day, about the end of July. Their names, as given in *Full and True Account*, p. 2, were—Captain Robert Fitzgerald, Sir John Davies, Sir Humfrey Gervaise, Alderman Smith, Esquire Hancock, and Counsellor Hancock his son, Mr. Thomas Crou, Mr. John Weaver, Mr. Hector Vaughan, Mr. Perrian Pool, Counsellor Wyngfield, and Counsellor Ormsby. All these, we are told, “they carried through the Streets in the most insolent manner imaginable, to the Lord Chief Justice *Nugent’s* House, where they stayed a pretty while before they could be admitted to speak to him; and when they were, it was ordered they should be sent to *Newgate*, and were carried to the most common and nasty Room in that wretched Prison; And though it was represented, That their Lives should thereby be endangered, yet all the Answer was, That it was good enough for them.” At least five of the twelve are mentioned in our Diary: from which it appears that some were transferred after a few days from *Newgate* to the Castle, and others released—facts which the writer just quoted does not mention. The date of their arrest is thus fixed: the writer informs us that one of their number, Mr. Fitzgerald, was detained in *Newgate* for 21 weeks, and then bailed. Now we know from other sources (*e.g.* S. P. I., chap. III., § 7, p. 92) that the Protestants who had been imprisoned in Dublin were released in December. Counting back therefore twenty-one weeks from 15th December, we reach 21st July as the approximate date of the arrest of Vaughan and his companions.

(3) This was, no doubt, an exaggeration of a report which had reached Schomberg a fortnight earlier. “A letter received from France,” he wrote to King William on the 27th July, “tells of great naval preparations at Brest; the French fleet, when augmented with ships from Toulon, will be superior to that of England and Holland, and will offer battle” (S. P. D., p. 201). A letter of the 29th July states that the English and Dutch fleets were lying off Brest, “so that the French cannot go out till Monsieur Tourville come” (S. P. D., p. 202).

(4) King clearly wrote with the reserve which was natural to a man whose manuscript might at any moment fall into the hands of his enemies. That in the middle of August he should have regarded as “good news” the report that French forces had effected a landing in Ireland would have been hardly consistent with his statement in the Autobiography (quoted in *Worthies*, p. 168), that after the enactments of the Parliament summoned by James in May, and the subsequent tyranny of the Government, “I had no longer any doubt but that it was lawful for me and others to accept that deliverance which Providence offered by the Prince of Orange . . . and to submit to him as king and liberator.”



severall fire ships. we had answer from L<sup>d</sup> C: J: N: <sup>s</sup> y<sup>t</sup> we must not expect to be bailed before ten days were past & y<sup>n</sup> if we had peace and quietness we might expect it.—[28]—One M<sup>r</sup> Betagh came to see M<sup>r</sup> Ormsby <sup>s</sup> & told him y<sup>t</sup> one Shaw a barber of St. patrick's Street was brought before L<sup>d</sup> Melfort<sup>7</sup> & asked concerning an association which he denyd. my L<sup>d</sup> asked whether he could know his hand for he could shew it under his hand he answered no. for he could neither write nor read upon w<sup>h</sup> L<sup>d</sup> M: said if it were so a great many had wrong don y<sup>m</sup> this story I did not believe but desired M<sup>r</sup> O: to inquire y<sup>e</sup> truth which he might easily do since his wife lived in Bride street.

Aug. 12.—M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: <sup>s</sup> drew up a petition to be delivered to y<sup>e</sup> King

(5) This is of course Thomas Nugent, Baron Riverstown, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. On him see S. P. I., chap. iii., § 3, p. 61, and D. N. B., xli., p. 271. It is evident that a few days after his imprisonment the Dean had applied to Nugent for release.

(6) This was probably Robert Ormsby, who was appointed Seneschal of the Liberty of St. Patrick's, and of the Archbishop's Liberty of St. Sepulchre's, at the meeting of the Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral on the 25th June, 1689. In the Minutes of the Chapter of St. Patrick's he is described as "learned in the law," and he may therefore, with some likelihood, be identified with Counsellor Ormsby, mentioned among the twelve Newgate prisoners in *Full and True Account*, p. 2 (above, note 2). He was "admitted one of the cittie councill" in the room of Serjeant Lyndon, 1682-3 (A. R., p. 263).

(7) John Drummond, brother of James, fourth Earl of Perth, was created Viscount Melfort in 1685, Earl in 1686, and Duke in 1692. He and his brother professed to have been converted to the Roman Catholic faith, by the famous papers in Charles II.'s strong box. He came to Ireland with James II., and, in his capacity of Secretary of State, was as unpopular there as he had previously been in England and Scotland. "He was more universally detested," writes Macaulay (M., p. 182), "than any man of his time." He is blamed in J. N. (pp. 84, 94) for the misfortunes of the Jacobite army in Ireland. See D. N. B., xvi., p. 35, *Stuart Papers*, p. 71, and below, note 381.

(8) The Christian name of this individual does not occur, and his surname is never written in full, in the Diary. He is variously called Mr. F., Mr. Fit., Mr. Fitz., and Capt. F.; but of his identity there can be no doubt. He is "the Honourable Robert Fitzgerald, Esq.," second son of the sixteenth and father of the nineteenth Earl of Kildare (Lodge, vol. i., p. 106 *sqq.*), "by whose great Conduct and discreet Management this city [of Dublin] has been preserved from violent Tumults" and many other evils, and whose praises are sounded in the *Full and True Account*, quoted in a previous note. According to that tract he took a leading part in the Restoration of 1660 (compare S. P. I., chap. iii., § 2, p. 52), and was a member of the Irish Privy Council, Comptroller of the Musters, a Captain of Horse, and Governor of the County Kildare under Charles II. Of all these offices he was deprived three weeks after the accession of James II., if the testimony of the writer of the tract is to be accepted. But it is hard to reconcile this statement with the fact recorded in the text, that he applied to the king for the arrears of his pay as Cheque-master of the Musters. His name, in fact, appears as Comptroller of the Musters in a list of King James's Field Officers, dated 2nd June, 1690 (S. P. I., p. 341). It is certain, however, that he was early deprived of his troop (S. P. I., chap. iii., § 2, p. 53). Fitzgerald was a staunch Protestant. His religious opinions were the cause of his dismissal from office, and of his subsequent imprisonment. He was arrested (above, note 2) towards the end of July, 1689, and taken to Newgate. A few days later, it appears, he was removed to the Castle, and was confined there till the liberation of the Protestants in the following December. After this "he was permitted," says the writer of our tract, "to live with some Ease in his own House about 5 months": where, for 'five,' we must read 'six,' for his second incarceration seems to have begun on the 24th June, 1690, shortly after the news of the landing of William III. (14th June) reached Dublin. On this occasion, we are informed, "he was hurried out

for y<sup>e</sup> arrears of his office, of cheque Mr: of the musters. An old trooper of M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: came to him & told him y<sup>t</sup> one Leik<sup>9</sup> meet him, one Stockton & S<sup>r</sup> Samuel Foxton<sup>10</sup> at his lodgings in St. George's lane<sup>11</sup> & amongst other things y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> leak, affirmed y<sup>t</sup> he knew enough concerning us all to hang us: which was occasioned by S<sup>r</sup> Samuel Foxton's saying y<sup>t</sup> he knew some of us to be honest gentlemen,—[29]—& y<sup>t</sup> it was a pity y<sup>t</sup> we should be troubled for nothing. In y<sup>e</sup> morning m<sup>r</sup> Spranger came & gave us a visite & told me y<sup>e</sup> news of y<sup>e</sup> town. I was likewise visited by one Hogon concerning some way in y<sup>e</sup> Kings cellor,<sup>12</sup> who knew me at Artragh<sup>13</sup> as he s<sup>d</sup> he seemed much concerned for me & was earnest to have me petition for my liberty. I told him I was content to continue during the Kings pleasure y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> C: J: N: had advised us to forbear till y<sup>e</sup> end of this week, he told me y<sup>t</sup> his freinds in the North were almost destroyed by

of his House by an insolent Militia Officer, assisted by 7 Townsmen, without allowing him one moment of Time to put his Affairs in Order, and carried to the Castle, where he met with Dr. King and Dr. Foy, two eminent Divines, in the Guard-Room, having been brought thither some Hours before on the same account; and after some Deliberation it was ordered he should be sent to the Colledge, where at that time there were above 50 Prisoners of all Sorts and Qualities." The day after the Boyne all prisoners were released, and Fitzgerald at once took the lead in restoring order in the city. He sent Sir Robert Gore to demand the keys of the Castle, and himself induced the soldiers at the Main Guard to surrender. Their arms were given to Protestants; and one Captain Slaughter was made their commander. Fitzgerald was one of those who signed a letter despatched at 2 o'clock the next morning to King William, stating that the city was "absolutely in his Majesty's dispose." Finally a committee of nine appointed him Governour of Dublin. The king confirmed their appointment, and continued him in his office of Cheque-master of the Musters. Fitzgerald found his new master no more punctual in his payments than the deposed sovereign. The last notice of him which I have been able to discover is the record in the *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1557-1696*, p. 471, under the date 26th November, 1695, of his petition "concerning the arrears of salary due to him as comptroller of the musters and cheques of the army in Ireland, since Michaelmas, 1688, at £365 per annum, and £100 per annum for his deputy." Fitzgerald was a wealthy man, his income, according to the *Full and True Account*, being £3300 a year. As to his exertions in restoring order in Dublin, see further, Mullenau, p. 13. A shorter account is given in *A True and Perfect Journal of the Affairs in Ireland since His Majesties Arrival in that Kingdom*, by a Person of Quality, London, 1690, p. 3 sqq.

(9) The following sentences from S. P. I., chap. III., § 7, p. 94, give all the facts which I have been able to discover about Leak: "Some few Gentlemen were committed by C. J. Nugent's Warrant, upon a kind of Affidavit made by one Leak, whom most of them had never seen: several of these, by express Orders of the Lord Chief Justice, were sent to *Newgate*, and committed in the Common Goal (*sic*). . . . A Bill was prepared against them, and offered to the Grand Jury; but Leak was unwittingly clapt up, by one of themselves, for a former Robbery, at the time he should have given Evidence, and so the Gentlemen escaped being tried." The gentlemen against whom Leak made his charges were probably the twelve mentioned above, note 2.

(10) Sir Samuel Foxton, or Foxon, lived at a house on the Shannon, two or three miles above Limerick (J. N., pp. 113, 288). Samuel Foxon, junior, of Limerick, Esq., was attainted in 1689 (S. P. I., p. 249).

(11) Now South Great George's-street.

(12) I cannot explain this enigmatic allusion.

(13) Probably Ardrea (Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary*, vol. i., p. 58), a parish which lies along the western shore of Lough Neagh, in the counties of Derry and Tyrone, and includes a portion of the town of Moneymore. It may have been in this parish or its neighbourhood that King spent his boyhood, when he taxed the patience of his Tyrone teacher, and chafed under the tyranny of Dilgardnus, the master of Dungannon School. (See *Worthies*, p. 148; E. H. R., p. 311.)



burning of the country, but I asked him no question. This evening the former gentleman y<sup>t</sup> gave us y<sup>e</sup> information concerning y<sup>e</sup> design of burning Dublin<sup>14</sup> came again to M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: about 7 & told him y<sup>t</sup> the King had certain intelligence both from y<sup>e</sup> Queen in France & from England y<sup>t</sup> Schomberg had very formally taken his leave of the parlement<sup>15</sup> & had bin some—[30]—days at y<sup>e</sup> water side with the army which the King s<sup>d</sup> he was sure was now in Duglass bay, & y<sup>t</sup> he expected y<sup>m</sup> every hour, upon which he prest him extremely to lose no time or opportunity of getting out of the Castle, y<sup>t</sup> he was every day more confirmed of his danger in being there by reason y<sup>e</sup> town woud certainly be in a great tumult & y<sup>t</sup> there woud certainly be great danger if the King's forces were beaten upon which M<sup>r</sup> F.<sup>16</sup> s<sup>d</sup> y<sup>t</sup> he could not think y<sup>t</sup> they woud do such a violent thing as burning the city this being to destroy the innocent with the guilty & the King having a great number of good subjects in it. upon which he answered y<sup>t</sup> most of those y<sup>t</sup> the K. consulted with were for violent courses & for his own part he knew not w<sup>t</sup> to do, tho' he was a R. C. M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: s<sup>d</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> was no example of so great a city being fired, on such an account & y<sup>t</sup> 500 men with torches—[31]—could not in a week's time effect it, upon w<sup>ch</sup> he said it woud be don by fire-ball which were ready, and if it should be four or five days a burning it could not be quenched till reduced to ashes.

he further told M<sup>r</sup> F.<sup>16</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> were certainly great disorders in England, and y<sup>t</sup> my L<sup>d</sup> Halifax, and Danby<sup>17</sup> were committed to y<sup>e</sup> Tower

(14) Cf. S. P. D., p. 278 sq. "The papists do not hesitate to say that if their army is defeated they will burn the city. . . . We may justly dread if that city be burnt they will by a barbarous massacre secure them [the prisoners in Dublin] from joining with us." These statements occur in a letter written somewhere in England by Thomas Ashe to Oliver St. George, 30th September, 1689. They are based on information received from "Mr. Price's man" (i.e., no doubt, a servant of the former Receiver-General Price, who was then a prisoner), who had arrived from Dublin the previous day. For other passages in the Diary in which reference is made to the apprehended burning of the city, see Aug. 19, 21, 22, 29, Sept. 1, 8, 29. The same fear still haunted the Protestant citizens after James left Dublin on the 16th June, 1690, and an attempt was actually made, 3rd July, to set fire "to the thach'd Houses in Kevan-street" (*Full and True Account*, p. 4; Mullenau, p. 11). See also contemporary pamphlets, *passim*.

(15) For a description of Schomberg's leave-taking on the 16th July, see M., p. 413 sq. He arrived at Chester on the 20th July, and, after long delay, embarked at Hoylake on the 12th August, the very day on which King wrote, landing at Groomsport, near Bangor, on the 13th. He did not touch at the Isle of Man, though he originally purposed to call at Ramsey (S. P. D., p. 220; Harris' *King William*, p. 244). He seems to have abandoned this intention at the very moment of sailing on account of the favourable wind (*Great News from the Army Under the Command of Duke Schomberge*, a letter from Liverpool, dated 20th August, 1689).

(16) This letter is doubtful.

(17) George Savile, Marquess of Halifax, and Thomas Osborne, Viscount Danby (and, since 20 April, Marquess of Caermarthen), rival ministers of William III. The gossip here recorded had no foundation in fact. Attempts had been made to induce Parliament to petition the king for the removal of Halifax and Caermarthen from office, but they were entirely unsuccessful. The attack on Halifax was defeated in the Lords on the 3rd August, that on Caermarthen had been disposed of some time before (M., pp. 406-410; D. N. B., xlii., p. 301).



by y<sup>e</sup> prince's order and 4 of the Convention,<sup>18</sup> who were rescued by y<sup>e</sup> Apprentices as they were carying to y<sup>e</sup> Tower, and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> upon y<sup>e</sup> P: O: came from Hampton Court and lay in Hide park with a great part of y<sup>e</sup> army encamped about him.

he also added y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Cay was mightily routed by Lord Dundee & forced to retire to recruit his army at Edenburgh<sup>19</sup>; y<sup>t</sup> the french fleet were at sea, and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> K. had s<sup>d</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> two fleets had certainly met by this time y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> French fleet were in Cap<sup>t</sup> ships fire ships & tenders above an 100. —[32]—He again presst M<sup>r</sup> F. to endeavour to be bailed, and told him y<sup>t</sup> he had presst L<sup>d</sup> C. J. N: to accept bail, but he answered y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> was no step made in y<sup>t</sup> matter but by advice of y<sup>e</sup> privy council,<sup>20</sup> and y<sup>t</sup> we must ap<sup>l</sup>y ourselves y<sup>e</sup>, whereupon he went to take further advice concerning M<sup>r</sup> F.'s release, and promised to give an account of his progress y<sup>e</sup>in, either to night or to-morrow morning seeming mighty earnest and pressing y<sup>e</sup>in begging him to leave no stone unturned in order to procure it.

Sir Tho Crosby<sup>21</sup> being here this afternoon was likewise of the same mind & offered to be bail for M<sup>r</sup> Fit: affirming y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> fleet under Schomberg was certainly at y<sup>e</sup> isle of man & earnestly wishing y<sup>t</sup> he might be released before they came here.

August 13.—M<sup>r</sup> Beck<sup>22</sup> came up with an order from L<sup>d</sup> Chief Justice N. to have M<sup>r</sup> Crow<sup>23</sup> brought before him in order to bail him, and about nine M<sup>r</sup> Cumberford<sup>24</sup> came & took him away. I drew up a letter to L<sup>d</sup>

(18) The Convention summoned by William, which met on the 22nd January, 1688-9, was a month later (22nd February) transformed into a parliament. King, ignoring this, calls it by its original name.

(19) General Mackay's defeat at Killiecrankie on the 27th July. King's informant, it will be observed, suppressed the fact that Dundee was killed, and the nominal victory thus made more disastrous to the Jacobites than a defeat. This intelligence did not reach the prisoners till 15th October. See below, under that date. Mackay retired to Stirling, not to Edinburgh (*Life*, p. 352).

(20) Cf. *Full and True Account*, p. 2: "After frequent Applications and Importunities, an *Order of Council* was obtained to let him out on Bail."

(21) Sir Thomas Crosby, of Tralee, knighted in 1677, a captain in Colonel Francis Carroll's regiment of dragoons in King James's army, and one of the representatives for the county Kerry in the Irish Parliament of 1689. He was one of the assessors of taxes for the county Kerry appointed by James, 10th April, 1690. With David Crosby of Ardfert (his father?), and Maurice Crosby of Knockmar, Queen's County, he was attainted in 1691 (*D'Alton*, pp. 34, 374, 383). It is stated in a letter from Dublin, of date 12th June, 1689, that "the Quakers and Crosby talk of an Invasion [from England], but represent the people of England as dissatisfied" (*Journal*, p. 13). A pass for his son William to go to Ireland was issued 10th April, 1689 (*S. P. D.*, p. 58). He died in 1694, his will being dated 20th July, 1694, and proved 7th Feb., 1695-6.

(22) On Anthony Beck, Mr. Crow's servant, see below, note 184.

(23) Mr. Thomas Croue, Crow, or Crou, was one of the twelve, stated in *Full and True Account*, p. 2, to have been imprisoned in Newgate (above, note 2). The references to him which occasionally occur in A. R. are sufficient to prove that he was a person of good position in the City of Dublin. See e.g. pp. 417, 429, 437.

(24) Who this Mr. Cumberford may have been I am unable to say with certainty; but it is somewhat remarkable that of five persons bearing the name in King James's Army List, three were in Thomas Butler's regiment of foot, viz. Lieutenant Michael

C. J. Herbert<sup>25</sup> & a petition to his majesty. I ordered M<sup>r</sup> King<sup>26</sup> to manage & solicit y<sup>e</sup> affair for my releasement.

I need not advise you to make these things a secret.<sup>27</sup>

[29]—*Aug. 13.*—M<sup>r</sup> Crow produced his discharge from the Lord

Comerford, and Ensigns James and Garrett Comerford (D'Alton, pp. 562, 685; cf. J. N., p. 206). In the same regiment was Lieut. William Smyth, one of only four Smiths in the list (D'Alton, pp. 665, 685; J. N., p. 206), Captain Maurice Roche, and Ensign Nicholas Roche (D'Alton, p. 685; J. N., p. 207, in the latter of which Captain Roche is called Delaroché). Now officers bearing these three names are mentioned in the Diary as being in the Castle. The inference is plausible that at least part of the regiment was stationed in Dublin, and furnished a guard for the prisoners in the Castle. Cumberford is sometimes styled Lieutenant in the Diary: from which we may infer that he was the Michael Comerford mentioned above—the only lieutenant with that surname in the Army List.

(25) Edward Herbert, brother of Arthur Herbert, Earl of Torrington, the incompetent admiral of King William's fleet, was a graduate of New College, Oxford. He practised at the Irish Bar, and became K.C. in 1677. Subsequently (1682) returning to England, he was appointed Chief Justice of Chester in 1683, and knighted a few months later. He was appointed Attorney-General to the Duke of York in January, 1684–1685, and, on his accession to the throne, Attorney-General to the Queen. Later in the year he succeeded Jeffreys as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. In consequence of his opposition to the arbitrary proceedings of King James, he was removed from the King's Bench to the Court of Common Pleas. Nevertheless, he remained faithful to his sovereign, following him, first to France, then to Ireland, and then again to France. As a recompense James conferred upon him the empty titles of Lord Chancellor of England and Duke of Portland (S. P. I., chap. III., § 1, p. 47; E. H. R., p. 319; M., iv., p. 227; *Stuart Papers*, p. 77). As a Protestant, however, he seems to have had little weight in his counsels, and ultimately retired to Flanders. He died in 1698 (D. N. B., vol. xxvi., p. 183). The subject of King's letters to him may be guessed from the entry under Aug. 14, where see note 30. In his younger days, at the Irish Bar, Herbert was a smoker, and often enjoyed with his pipe the society of his friend "the Minister of St. Warburgh's." So we learn from two playful letters from him to King in Mrs. Lyons' collection, the one dated from Trim, 26th August, 1682, the other from the Inner Temple, 16th December, 1682.

(26) According to Sir C. S. King, *Lough Erne*, p. 56, this was Robert King, of Lissen Hall, near Swords, second son of James King, of Corrad, a Scottish immigrant of the time of Charles I. The same writer states that he was cousin of William King, while Mason, p. lxxvii, followed by Cotton, ii., p. 138, describes his brother as William King's nephew. What authority there is for either of these conflicting statements I do not know. Robert King, like his more famous namesake, suffered under the régime of James II. (see below, 9th September). Sir C. S. King is probably right in identifying him with "Mr. King an Attorney," who, on 22nd January, 1690, escaped "from the Enemies Quarters, and gave the Duke [Schomberg] an account how things stood at Dublin" (Story, p. 53). He was held in much regard by the Archbishop, for whom he acted as law agent, and is often mentioned in his correspondence. In his letters to him he usually addressed him as "Dear Friend." In his house in Skinners'-row the Dean resided in the latter part of 1690, as we learn from the direction of a letter addressed to him on the 9th September of that year (referred to below, note 32). At his death, in 1711, he left Archbishop King guardian of his daughter, Mary, sometimes wrongly described as the Archbishop's niece.

(27) These words seem to indicate that the portion of the Diary which precedes



Chief Justice riverstown<sup>28</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Cumberford he took leave of us & went down stairs but immediately came up stairs again & told us y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Cumberford had remanded him for fees. He asked him what fees he demanded. He said he woud compute y<sup>m</sup> immediately. Cornelius came up & called for the keys of the doors and told us y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> (*sic*) M<sup>r</sup> Cumberford had threatened to run him through, and had commanded him to lock us up both rooms. We thought this unreasonable and twas resolved that M<sup>r</sup> Crow shoud stay till he had taken advice. He was remanded about five in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon. It hapened y<sup>t</sup> while M<sup>r</sup> Cumb: was in the room M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: looked out of the window and saw one Cap<sup>t</sup> Smith,<sup>29</sup> and said of him y<sup>t</sup> when he came over he was a rough soldier but now was become a very gentile man. I s<sup>d</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Court woud polish any man y<sup>t</sup> was capable of it. This is observed lest M<sup>r</sup> Cumb: should misrepresent it. At supper M<sup>r</sup> Crow's ser<sup>t</sup> Anthony Beck came to us and was ordered to move for a Habeas Corpus for his master.

[30]—Aug. 14.—M<sup>r</sup> K. came to me about 4 in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, and having procured an order from L<sup>d</sup> C. J. N. for to have me bailed, I gave him a letter to L<sup>d</sup> C. J. H. to be my bail.<sup>30</sup> He went to him & got him to undertake it. While M<sup>r</sup> King was with me, M<sup>r</sup> Cumb. came up in a great passion and asked M<sup>r</sup> K. how he came up. He answered y<sup>t</sup> an officer came up with him. M<sup>r</sup> Cumb. asked w<sup>t</sup> officer. He replied, a corporall & shewed him my L<sup>d</sup> C. J. N.'s warrant. He ran down in great passion & we could not imagine w<sup>t</sup> he designed, but he immediately sent up a soldier to require M<sup>r</sup> K. to come down, which he obeyed. A little time after M<sup>r</sup> Cumb: came up, & M<sup>r</sup> Crow told him that he was now his prisoner & not y<sup>e</sup> King's, inasmuch as the Chief Justice had discharged him. He answered y<sup>t</sup> he woud justify what he did. Mr Fitz. bid him take a care what he did, for if he kept any body after the King had releast him, it woud be at his own peril & he must answer it, & y<sup>t</sup> such a thing might ruin him. He replied angrily y<sup>t</sup> he woud do it to any body, even to him. M<sup>r</sup> Fitz. answered y<sup>t</sup> if it shoud please the—[31]—King to release him & allow him his sword,<sup>31</sup> & he shoud offer after y<sup>t</sup> to lay hands on him, he woud not scruple to run him throw & woud not

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them was written for the benefit of a friend, to whom it was transmitted immediately afterwards. The words are followed by a blank space of a page and a half, the next entry being on a page numbered 29, though the present one has the number 32.

(28) Nugent was created Baron Riverstown by James II. in April, 1689 (S. P. I., chap. III., § 12, p. 150; *Stuart Papers*, p. 39).

(29) See above, note 24.

(30) Compare the letter quoted by Mason, p. 211: "I was much obliged to him to the last, and he offered to be baile for me, but was rejected by my Lord Chiefe Justice Nugent, because he was a protestant, which heartily vexed him."

(31) It will be remembered that the Protestants of Dublin had been deprived of their arms by order of Tyrconnell, 24th February, and that by the king's Proclamation of 20th July they were forbidden to wear swords (S. P. I., chap. III., § 8, pp. 111–113).



doubt to justify it. This he s<sup>d</sup> in some heat. M<sup>r</sup> Cum: s<sup>d</sup> he wore a sword & y<sup>t</sup> he shoud find y<sup>t</sup> he woud suffer no body to run him thro and y<sup>t</sup> who fees soever (*sic*) were forgiven his shoud not, and y<sup>t</sup> he woud carry y<sup>e</sup> next that went to be bailed with two or three files of soldiers lest they shoud refuse to come back. I and the rest endeavoured to mitigate this heat, and I told M<sup>r</sup> Cumber: that I thought it unreasonable that he shoud be judge in his own cause, that I would give him w<sup>t</sup> fees I believed due, y<sup>t</sup> if he demanded any more I woud give in security before C. J. N. to pay y<sup>m</sup> when convicted by due course of Law, and y<sup>t</sup> I thought neither he nor I ought to be judge but a jury, and in y<sup>e</sup> meantime desired him to treat us as gentlemen, and our differing in a point of right ought to be no reason of quarrel or incivility. He said he had bin but too civil to us but especially—[32]—to M<sup>r</sup> Fitz. who he perceived to have had a prejudice to him from y<sup>e</sup> first night. M<sup>r</sup> Fitz s<sup>d</sup> he had no prejudice, but he had bin backward to all his civility when he had invited him to eat & drink &c he answered y<sup>t</sup> he ought not to impute y<sup>t</sup> to him since he did it out of respite as not judging it fit for him to accept such things from a person of M<sup>r</sup> Fitz. quality, whom he revered. M<sup>r</sup> F. replied that he had eaten with an hundred worse men y<sup>n</sup> him, y<sup>e</sup> King's commission having qualified him to converse with gentlemen. This brought y<sup>m</sup> to a better temper & they parted. L<sup>t</sup> Lawless came to visite me & offered to be bail for me,<sup>32</sup> which I accepted. We discoursed about pious and religious matter but nothing of news or state matters, only he told me of the french fleet coming out of Brest.<sup>33</sup> About 9 M<sup>r</sup> Cumb: came up & staid till near 11. We drank a bottle of wine & talked of indifferent things only something of

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(32) The following paper, in King's handwriting, is preserved in Mrs. Lyons' collection. It plainly refers to the Lieutenant Lawless of the text (called Captain Lawless below). No signatures are appended, from which we may infer that it is merely the rough draft of a petition:—

“ DUBLIN, *Sept* y<sup>e</sup> 24, 1690.

“ We the undernamed persons do hereby certify that to our knowledge Capt Patrick lawless hath in the late troublesom times wherein protestants were sufferers behaved himself civilly to y<sup>e</sup> protestant neighbours about his quarters in Dublin, y<sup>t</sup> upon severall occasions he readily offered y<sup>m</sup> his service & when opportunity was served y<sup>m</sup> & particularly offered to be bound for some in order to get y<sup>m</sup> out of prison in consideration whereof we request the governor to consider him favourably y<sup>t</sup> he may have the benefit of his former civilitys & what further favour he lawfully may allow him.”

This petition was the outcome of a letter in the same collection written from prison by Lawless a fortnight earlier (9th September), asking King to represent to those in authority the barbarous usage which he was receiving.

No Captain Patrick Lawless is named, it seems, in King James's Army List, and our Captain Lawless can scarcely be identified with either of the officers of that name who are known to have served under the Jacobite colours (D'Alton, pp. 205, 375).

(33) See above, note 3.

brass money<sup>34</sup> & w<sup>t</sup> it cost the King monthly in his army, concerning which we asked no questions.

[33]—*Aug. 15.*—In the morning M<sup>r</sup> King sent me word y<sup>t</sup> he woud be with me about ten, and desired me to get M<sup>r</sup> Cumb: ready, and he woud be ready with bail for me. About y<sup>t</sup> time Chief J. N. came to y<sup>e</sup> Castle which obliged us to defer going to his house till y<sup>e</sup> afternoon. We heard y<sup>t</sup> an express had brought news of 170 ships about belfast<sup>35</sup> and we observed y<sup>t</sup> they were in some hurry in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, which we judged partly proceeded from y<sup>t</sup> news & partly for its being a p: holiday.<sup>36</sup> Sir John Ivory<sup>37</sup> gave us a visite & we talkt of common things. M<sup>r</sup> K. came to me and told me he had gotten Cap<sup>t</sup> Martin<sup>38</sup> & Cap<sup>t</sup> Lawless<sup>39</sup> to be bail for me. About 3 in the afternoon he came again, and M<sup>r</sup> Cumb: with him. M<sup>r</sup> Crow told him that y<sup>t</sup> he was his prisoner and not y<sup>e</sup> Kings, and y<sup>t</sup> he might allow him w<sup>t</sup> liberty he pleased & desired him to let him walk down into y<sup>e</sup> Castle Court, promising under y<sup>e</sup> penalty of an 100<sup>lb</sup> to return, but M<sup>r</sup> Cumber: refused upon which he s<sup>d</sup> he was a pitifull fellow or words to y<sup>t</sup> effect, & y<sup>t</sup> he valued him not an halfpeny or pin. M<sup>r</sup> Cumber: asked whether I woud—[34]—upon my word promise to return back again to y<sup>e</sup> Castle as his prisoner, or else he woud ca<sup>r</sup>y a guard with him to secure me. I answered y<sup>t</sup> I did not look like a man y<sup>t</sup> woud run away, y<sup>t</sup> if he suspected it he might carry w<sup>t</sup> guards he pleased to secure me, as for myself I woud not make myself prisoner to any by any voluntary promise. M<sup>r</sup> French & M<sup>r</sup> K. woud have had me make y<sup>e</sup> promise, but I desired to be excused, so M<sup>r</sup> Cumber: ca<sup>r</sup>yed me with a guard, consisting of a sergeant & I think of a file of men attending y<sup>e</sup> coach. M<sup>r</sup> Cumber: told me y<sup>t</sup> he was sorry he was

(34) By Proclamations of June 18th and 27th, 1689, brass money was to be accepted as payment, save in certain exceptional cases. The exceptions were removed by Proclamation 4th February, 1689-90 (S. P. I., chap. III., § 11, p. 134 sq.; Harris' *King William*, p. 238).

(35) Probably the ships conveying Schomberg's troops. He sailed with about ninety ships, the remainder of his army following a few days later (Harris' *King William*, p. 244 sq.).

(36) The Assumption of the B. V. M.

(37) Captain William Ivory of New Ross, County Wexford, (born 1624, died 1684), received a large grant of lands under the Act of Settlement. His son John (born 1654), who was knighted at Windsor Castle, 20th May 1683, and was M.P. for Wexford in 1692, is the person mentioned in the text. He died in 1694. Sir John Ivory married Anne, daughter of Sir John Talbot of Lacock, Wilts. His son John assumed the name and arms of Talbot. He is the ancestor of the present family of Talbots of Lacock. My knowledge of these facts I owe to the Rev. W. Reynell, B.D. The only notice of Sir John Ivory belonging to the year 1689 which I have found is the statement that Lord Mountgarrett petitioned the Lords on 5th June "that Sir John Ivory may commit no waste on his Estate." An order was made accordingly (*Journal*, p. 9).

(38) Probably Captain Francis Martin, of Colonel Dominick Browne's regiment of foot. There are but two other Martins in the Jacobite Army List, both lieutenants (D'Alton, p. 861).

(39) This seems to be the same person as Lieutenant Lawless mentioned above, 14th August.



put on this, knowing y<sup>t</sup> it woud create him a great deal of Odium & y<sup>t</sup> he had such reverence for me y<sup>t</sup> it went against his inclinations to be obliged to expose me thus. but I told him y<sup>t</sup> I knew myself to be an honest man, and so I believed did all y<sup>t</sup> know me, tho he was pleased to use me as a rogue. We fell to talk of the fees. I told him y<sup>t</sup> it was a most unreasonable thing to expect fees of innocent men at this time when no man could get a farthing of his just rents, y<sup>t</sup> I should look on him as an ill man—[35]—y<sup>t</sup> woud put a man in jail for a bond & judgement, much rather for fees which I told him was against law, & I durst refer it to any two lawyers in Dublin whether the detaining of a prisoner on y<sup>t</sup> account was legall or ever practised in England: y<sup>t</sup> I lookt on it as a common cause of all the protestant gentlemen of Ireland who were generally in jail, & I woud not betray y<sup>m</sup> into a charge of 10<sup>m</sup> pounds by an ill precedent, y<sup>t</sup> I woud sooner ly in Jail to Xstmass. He s<sup>d</sup> it seemed I made it a case of conscience. I answered I did & y<sup>t</sup> I woud nevertheless not deny him his just fees, but woud have y<sup>m</sup> determined by a jury before I paid y<sup>m</sup>. W<sup>n</sup> I came to Lord Chief Justice N. I met y<sup>re</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Martin, Cap<sup>t</sup> Lawless, M<sup>r</sup> K. & M<sup>r</sup> French. I walked a turn or two with M<sup>r</sup> French in the Hall. He told me y<sup>t</sup> I woud never get out without paying fees but I told him, perhaps I might, for I did not believe my Lord Chief Justice woud deny me a Habeas Corpus. He said perhaps it may be so, tho M<sup>r</sup> Cumber:—[36]—had positively assured me y<sup>t</sup> L<sup>d</sup> C. J. woud not meddle in it. Y<sup>n</sup> I was called into L<sup>d</sup> C. J. who asked for my bail and they appeared he s<sup>d</sup> he knew y<sup>m</sup> not, & woud not accept y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> he must have more substantial Rom. C. to bail me, at lest one and Lord C. J. H. y<sup>t</sup> it was meerly by his great interest with the K. y<sup>t</sup> I was admitted to bail. I told him y<sup>t</sup> I was very hardly dealt with<sup>40</sup> y<sup>t</sup> it was impossible any shoud behave y<sup>m</sup>selves with more caution respect & submission to y<sup>e</sup> Government y<sup>n</sup> I had done. He answered y<sup>t</sup> I was cautious enough, but that he had intimations a great many against me before he committed me. I told him y<sup>t</sup> those were false, & y<sup>t</sup> it was very hard to have gentlemen refused whom I had procured with difficulty he said that he did not know y<sup>m</sup> that y<sup>e</sup> K. had trusted y<sup>e</sup> thing to him, & y<sup>t</sup> he must take no bail but what he thought sufficient. I answered y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King had trusted y<sup>m</sup> both w<sup>th</sup> Commissions, & I thought y<sup>m</sup> persons very sufficient; y<sup>t</sup> I had a great cure & charge on me, & that my confinement was very inconvenient. He told me y<sup>t</sup> he wished I had meddled with nothing else but my cure, but that I wrought

(40) It will be remembered that Herbert had undertaken to give bail for King (14th Aug.). It was perhaps to this occasion that King referred when he wrote to Dean Trench in 1699: "When I pressed for a tryall, the Lord Chiefe Justice Nugent told me that truly they could prove nothing against me, but he believed in his conscience I was guilty, for the King look'd on me as a dangerous man; to which I only replied that it was very hard I shou'd loose my liberty for his Lordship's belief" (Mason, p. 211).



against—[37]—y<sup>e</sup> Government. I vouched y<sup>e</sup> contrary & told him y<sup>t</sup> I knew w<sup>t</sup> I said to be tru; whereas his Lordship had w<sup>t</sup> he affirmed from false affirmations against which my being here was a demonstration. He s<sup>d</sup> many y<sup>t</sup> stayd were as bad as those who went & that he woud do justice tho 20<sup>m</sup> were landed in the next county; & finally refused to bail me; upon which I returned guarded as before. I gave 1<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> soldiers and coachman. In the afternoon Sir Tho: Crosby came up to visite M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: He told him y<sup>t</sup> somebody had bin with the Lord Chief Baron<sup>41</sup> & spoken to him about bailing us. He said y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> C. J. N. might give us good words but he had positive orders to bail none of us till they saw what came of this business. A little after M<sup>r</sup> Vaughan came up. He told us y<sup>t</sup> Coll. Sheldon<sup>42</sup> had bin about his bailing with C. J. N., y<sup>t</sup> his Lordship told him y<sup>t</sup> he knew nothing for which M<sup>r</sup> Vaughan was in, nor anything of his committall, & y<sup>t</sup> he woud bail him when he pleased, upon w<sup>ch</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Vaughan sent him a petition but it came back—[\*]—to him while he was with us not granted.

Mem: y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Ch. J. N. objected to me y<sup>e</sup> letter was found in my closet: <sup>43</sup> to which I answered y<sup>t</sup> I supposed y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> gentleman who wrote it had given satisfaction y<sup>t</sup> there was no part (*sic*) in it, & for my own part I did not know whether I had ever read it.

Mem: further y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Cum: asked me how I thought y<sup>e</sup> King's

(41) Sir Stephen Rice. He was fifth son of James Rice, of Dingle, and was born in 1637. In 1686 he was made a Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Sir Standish Harstonge, his predecessor, being dismissed, and, in April, 1687, he became Chief Baron. King admits that he was "a Man of the best Sense amongst them, well enough versed in the Law," though he declares that he was "most signal for his inveteracy against the Protestant Interest and Settlement of Ireland." For the importance of the Court of Exchequer, over which he presided, and for the way in which he conducted it, see S. P. I., chap. III., § 3, p. 63. Early in 1688 he went to London, with Nugent and Nagle, to obtain the king's consent to legislation for the repeal of the Act of Settlement; and amusing stories are told of the reception accorded to these "Irish Ambassadors," who failed to effect their object. On the 10th of January, 1689, he accompanied Mountjoy to France on a mission of which more must be said hereafter. He returned to Ireland two months later with King James. After the conclusion of the war he was allowed to remain in Ireland, where he died 16 February, 1714-15 (D. N. B., xlviii., p. 103; D'Alton, p. 183).

(42) Dominick Sheldon was "an English Catholic" (J. N., p. 44), probably from Warwickshire. He was, about 1687, a captain to the Duke of Ormonde (D'Alton, p. 375), and was apparently the "Captain Sheldon, a professed Papist," whom King mentions as having been given the command of Captain Coote's troop (S. P. I., chap. III., § 2, p. 53). He was a *protégé* of Tyrconnell, and was brought to Ireland by him. Subsequently he became Lieutenant-Colonel of Tyrconnell's Horse. In 1688-9 he was sent from Dublin to Ballinderry to apprehend Mr. Price, who had refused to deliver up his arms (*Indictment*, p. 4). He subsequently served at Coleraine, Derry, and the Boyne. At Limerick he was Major-General of cavalry, and at Aughrim he commanded the left wing. It is clear that Jacobite writers had no high opinion of his ability as a general, though he afterwards did good service on the Continent. He appears to have been the only officer of the name in the Jacobite army (D'Alton, p. 69; J. N., pp. 44, 113, 138, 142, 143, 162, 167, 188).

(43) It is interesting to lay beside this the passage from King's letter to Dean Trench, quoted above in the Introduction, p. 121.

officers should subsist if fees were not p<sup>d</sup>; to which I answered y<sup>t</sup> I was not against paying any legal fees in a legal way when recovered; but I did not believe y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King had any intention when he granted offices y<sup>t</sup> they should be maintained by y<sup>e</sup> oppression of his innocent subjects, & y<sup>t</sup> I thought y<sup>t</sup> their salarys allowed y<sup>m</sup> by the Kings (*sic*) was judged by him to be sufficient for y<sup>m</sup>.

*Aug. 16.*—Councillour R. Fitz: came & visited M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: and told him y<sup>t</sup> the rebels were landing in the North, that Schomberg was yet at y<sup>e</sup> Isle of Man<sup>44</sup> & was resolved to stay y<sup>re</sup> till the last men were shipped of & to take measures what to do.<sup>45</sup>

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(44) Compare above, note 15.

(45) Here follows a blank leaf.

(*To be continued.*)

## NOTES ON ASKEATON, COUNTY LIMERICK.

## PART II.—THE HISTORY AFTER 1579.

BY THOMAS J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

*(Continued from page 40.)*

**E**ACH side had now drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. For the Government fought skill, grim determination, fierce religion, and ardent loyalty, and on Desmond's side were the desperate enthusiasm of a clan, the strongholds of the woods and hills, the morasses and tangled valleys, and a deep religious zeal fed with strong stimulants. There were no such overwhelming military resources on the side of the English as to decidedly outweigh the advantages of the outlawed Earl and his followers when aided by the sympathy of a province.

On the 12th of November, 1579, the disaffected gentry, Nicholas Saunders, and many other persons met Gerald, Earl of Desmond, at Askeaton, and with 1000 armed men entered formally on that fearful war;<sup>1</sup> soon all the district was up in arms; reports flew about; some said the Spanish forces were at Askeaton, others that Desmond could not muster his galloglasses or get them to fight.<sup>2</sup> Next month Ormond, whose country Desmond had sworn to burn, ravaged and burned Desmond's lands from Askeaton to Newcastle, Kilfinnan, and Kilbride, "taking the Earle's studd," and slaying not a few of his soldiers; but he was unable to assault Askeaton Castle, for, despite his urgent letters, the Lords Justices and the War Department had sent him no shot for his demi cannon.<sup>3</sup>

1580.

When the spring came round, the English pressed on the campaign, and took Carrigfoyle in April: the very "sound and roar of those unknown and wonderful cannon"<sup>4</sup> heard for incredible distances across Thomond and Desmond did more than the actual damage of the shot to terrorise the garrison into surrender. On April 3rd the English were before Askeaton. Lord Justice Pelham had little difficulty in reducing

<sup>1</sup> Exchequer Inquisitions, vol. xii., p. 219 (September 11 and 26), 1584.

<sup>2</sup> C. S. P. I., 1579 (November 13), p. 195.

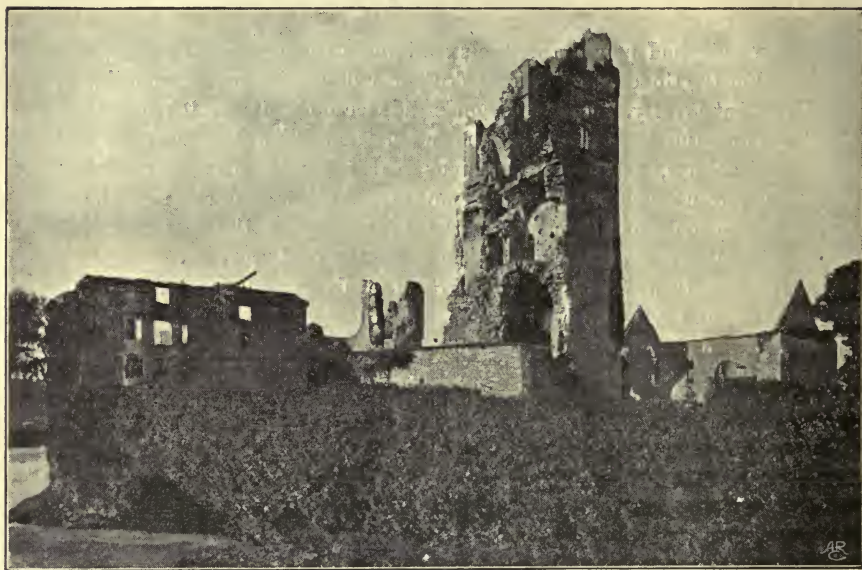
<sup>3</sup> Carew Calendar, 1579, p. 203; (C. S. P. I.), p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> "Annals of the Four Masters." If the discharge of guns on the Shannon can (as I am told) be heard on the hills of Burren, the Annalists' statement is hardly exaggerated. See also Carew, 1580, p. 239.



the formidable fortress "in the midst of a deep river"; a few shots of the English cannon, and the garrison fled by night, blowing up and burning a portion of the out-buildings,<sup>1</sup> and, on the 5th, Pelham dated his letters from Desmond's vaunted stronghold.

The English were unable to press their advantage because of their sore want of horses, the severe riding "spending" their steeds. Also because their enemies "were too swift of foot for the heavy English men at arms. Castles could not, however, run away, and could be garrisoned, and the enemies' resources were gradually



THE DESMONDS' CASTLE, ASKEATON.

(From the Bridge, 1875.)

but surely exhausted." The English, moreover, occasionally took cattle, spoil, and prisoners; and that spring, Pelham, on one occasion, got so close on the track of Desmond as to capture his "aquavitæ, wine and dinner."<sup>2</sup> The army was at Askeaton again in August, and was visited by the Countess of Desmond, who confessed "with impudences" that she had urged Desmond against the Queen, but promised to bring

<sup>1</sup> Lenihan's "Limerick: its History and Antiquities," p. 106, falls into the strange errors of stating that the Lord Justice, after taking Askeaton Castle, "partially destroyed (it) by gunpowder, leaving the towers untouched, as they remain to this day." The error of the first statement being as great in one direction as that in the second is in the opposite.

<sup>2</sup> Carew (1580), pp. 246, 249.

about his submission. A wife is not always able to "bring in" a husband to surrender, even where his fate would be safer than that of Desmond, and nothing came of the interview. Pelham also spent some of his time in repairing that portion of the castle partly destroyed by the retreating Irish.<sup>1</sup>

The English next found themselves badly off for stores,<sup>2</sup> save cattle: the biscuit was musty, the beer was made of bad malt, and a ship, the "Green Dragon," had met with some rough weather, and stove the beer casks, so that much of the longed-for drink had to be pumped "out of shipboard." The horses of the soldiers were again spent, and the land round the town was too bare to restore them to condition. Guerilla warfare increased, and the bands were seldom hunted down, escaping by their superior speed and perfect knowledge of the country. Desmond sought foreign intervention, and sent to ask help from Philip of Spain, as well as from the northern chiefs O'Neill, O'Donnell and Sorley Boy.

In December Grey, the Lord Deputy, had sent a captain, Edward Berkeley, who had served with distinction against Sorley Boy,<sup>3</sup> to take over the command of Askeaton. The day after he had started for it the rebels entered the place, but were driven out by Lieutenant Parker. The garrison consisted of 400 foot, Mr. Treasurer's and Sir Peter Carew's bands being quartered in the castle, and Mr. Hollingworth's in the Abbey. We incidentally hear of a monk of Askeaton, a certain friar, James O'Haie, who was examined by the English as to the message brought by Shane O'Farrall, Friar of "Askeaton," from James FitzMaurice to the Earl of Desmond. O'Farrell, on landing in Spain, hastened to the Court, and brought Fitzmaurice to Bilbao, where O'Haie lay sick. The latter asked how the Irish fortunes went, "both good and bad." "How does the Earl of Desmond?" "He is well if he gets FitzMaurice home"; and (added he) O'Farrell had been sent by FitzMaurice to the Earl. This was of some importance, as it contradicted the Earl's statements to Drury.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE BERKELEYS.

Captain Edward Berkeley, who was now warden of Askeaton Castle, and his brother and successor Francis, were respectively third and second sons of Sir Maurice Berkeley, of Bruton, in Somersetshire, who had been standard-bearer to Henry VIII., and (in the rebellion that so seriously threatened that monarch's daughter, Queen Mary) had received the surrender of Sir Thomas Wyatt, taking up that ill-fated person on his own horse for his better temporary security. The Berkeleys of Bruton sprang from a warlike race descended from Hadnoth the Staller, Sheriff of Bristol, under Edward the Confessor,

<sup>1</sup> Desmond Roll (quoted *infra*, Appendix B), 1581.

<sup>3</sup> Carew (1584), p. 383; (C. S. P. I.) (1598), p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Carew (1580), p. 301.

<sup>4</sup> Carew (1580), p. 309.



Harold, and William.<sup>1</sup> There had been few of the greater battles of England, in which the FitzHardings, Barons of Berkeley (the descendants of Eadnoth's son Harding), had not taken part—Hastings, the wars of Stephen, the Welsh wars, Caerlaverock and Bannockburn, Crécy, Calais, the French wars of the Duke of Bedford, and the Battle of Bosworth. The Tudors had few more loyal or hard-fighting adherents. The few facts of Edward's connexion with Munster appear in these pages, while of Francis we need only note at present that he was Provost Marshal and Sheriff of Connaught, his provostry at that time covering Thomond (1586). He was a friend and favourite of Perrot (in whose ruin he was nearly involved),<sup>2</sup> a bitter opponent of Bingham, and won the confidence and even some share of the friendship of the Irish in Connaught, and at Askeaton, and was indeed censured for this latter fact in the reign of James I.

#### 1581-1583.—END OF DESMOND'S WAR.

In the following three years (1581-1583) little of note happened at Askeaton: (Sir) Walter Raleigh reported to Grey that eleven of the ward of Askeaton had been slain in May, 1581. Edward Berkeley returned to Bristol in January, 1583, and in his absence Gregory Morgan was vice-constable, and was committed for relieving rebels. A few months later Sir Warham St. Leger heard that Desmond had crossed the Shannon to confer with John O'Ferrall, friar of Askeaton. Then Norreys, the President of Munster, asked for the place; but the Lord Deputy would not dispossess Edward Berkeley.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the year fate overtook the unhappy fugitive Earl. He had been closely pursued, "as when one doth hunt a partridge on the mountains," during two years. He spent Christmas Day of 1582 in the woods near Kilmallock, and was discovered by that garrison, who slew and dispersed his followers, and took his goods. He and his wife barely escaped, half naked, and saved themselves by standing up to their chins in water, under the river bank, till their pursuers had gone. In

<sup>1</sup> For Eadnoth and Harding, see Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest," vol. iv., p. 757. The subsequent descent and history are fully given in Collinson's "History of Somerset"—the Visitation of Somerset, 1626 (Harleian Society), vol. xi., pp. 5-7; and in a Paper of mine in the "Journal of the Limerick Field Club," 1902, vol. ii., p. 118. The descent from Louis VI. (through the families of Taillefer, Valence, and Croun) is in *The Genealogist*, New Ser., vol. x. (1893-4), p. 140. Mr. Richard Langrishe has deduced the descent of Catherine Blount (daughter of Lord Mountjoy, and mother of Francis and Edward Berkeley) from John of Gaunt. The reputed descent from the King of Denmark is mythical (though named in a mediæval inscription), as the "might of buried Denmark" usurps the place of Eadnoth in the pedigree.

<sup>2</sup> He was brought to London and imprisoned on the occasion of Perrot's arrest, but was acquitted, and sent back to Ireland the following year, and his lands confirmed to him, August 16, 1591 (C. S. P. I.).

<sup>3</sup> C. S. P. I. under dates, pp. 304, 423, 448, 462, 557.



August, 1583, he was in Aherloe with sixty galloglasses, when (as they cooked some horseflesh) they were attacked, and most of the Irish fell; their master only escaped by the swiftness of his horse. How many other hair-breadth escapes took place we know not, but the Earl drifted into western Kerry, and there he met his end.

Desmond had sent his wife away; she sought refuge in England and got a pension from the Queen: <sup>1</sup> he then wandered about the mountains and woods of Kerry, sleeping by day and watching by night; the English soldiers were of course unable to molest him, but more mobile allies came to their assistance. In the solemn words of the greatest of our annalists—"At the beginning of winter, when the long nights began to set in, the insurgents and robbers of Munster . . . prepared to rekindle the torch of war; but God thought it time to suppress, close, and finish the war of the Geraldines." Desmond's followers seized some cattle; the owner's brothers-in-law tracked the plunderers, and got some soldiers from Tralee to join them. They followed the raiders to Glennageenty, watching the freebooters' camp-fire down in the glen all night. In the "dusk of the morning" of November 11th, 1583, they surrounded and surprised their camp, and burst into the huts, finding in one of them a majestic old man. One of them struck him on the arm, nearly severing it from his body. "Spare my life: I am the Earl of Desmond," he cried; but the assailants fell on him (or, as some say, took him into the woods) and beheaded him. His body was concealed and buried in Kilnamanagh; his head was impaled on London Bridge.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1584-1598.—THE NEW GRANTEES.

The Crown had now to re-distribute the estates of its late too powerful subject, which were made the scene of several Inquisitions and Surveys. An early one, May 20th, 1584,<sup>3</sup> mentions the free tenants of "Inislesty." The mill of Inniskesty worth 30s. The weir there worth 16s. The annual returns or "royal services" of O'Connolly in Asketten, viz., of the Castle of Inneskesty 40s., after which this ancient and familiar name disappears from the records.

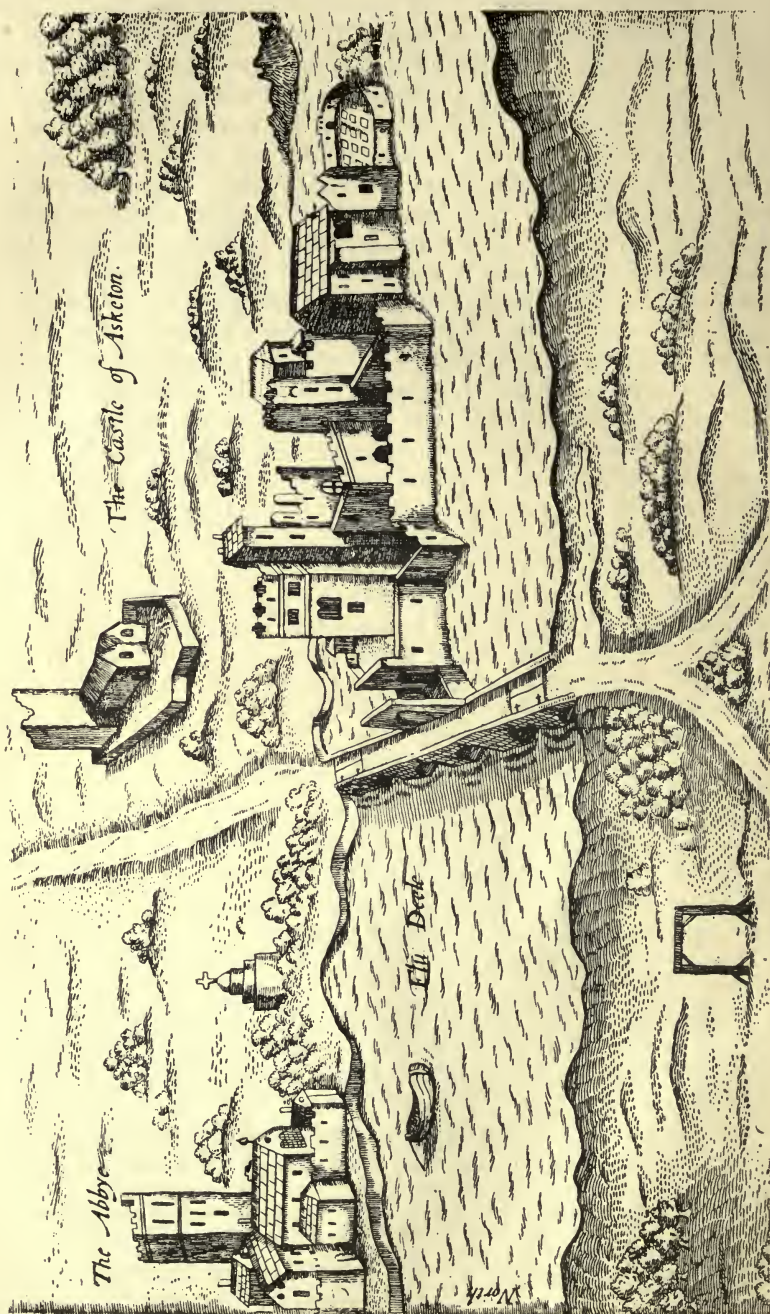
The very full surveys of the Castle, Manor, and Abbey of Askeaton in the great Desmond Roll and the Peyton Book of 1586 will appear in the description of the castle, and in Appendix B to this Paper, and so need not be given here.

Edward Berkeley continued to be Constable of Askeaton till 1589. The Government, in one of its periodical fits of economy, got impatient of

<sup>1</sup> She had, however, to find securities and pass a recognizance of £1000 for herself, and only received pardon from the Queen on February 8, 1597.—Fians 6195, Elinor, Countess of Desmond.

<sup>2</sup> "Annals of the Four Masters," C. S. P. I., and several Inquisitions in the Public Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> Calendar of Inquisitions (Record Office, Dublin), Limerick, pp. 206 and 208.



ASKEATON. (Circa 1586. From "Pacata Hibernia.")



the expense, and in the end Berkeley prudently resigned his pension and 15 footmen (small garrison for so important a place) for a fee-farm rent or other recompense.<sup>1</sup> He gave up the castle between May and September, and in the latter month Sir W. Herbert tried to get the "void castle" for his cousin. The next month, however, the lands of Desmond were apportioned among the "undertakers," and we find a group of three names (two of world-wide fame, one of only local interest)—Sir Walter Raleigh, 12,000 acres, Captain Francis Berkeley, 7000 acres, and Mr. Edmund Spenser, 4000 acres, at from 3*d.* to 4*d.* an acre head rent. Edward Berkeley must have died soon after the time of his surrender, for Queen Elizabeth, by a document granted at Richmond, December 18th, 1589, states that, "for the better re-peopling of the Province of Munster," she had desired that Sir Edward Barkley should have held the Castle and Seignory of Askeaton; but he having died before the great seal was affixed to the grant, she desired it to be transferred to his brother Francis. Accordingly Francis Berkeley got "the Manor of Rock Barkley" for ever at a rent of £87 10*s.*, and was bound to erect houses for 56 families and himself; 4 houses for freeholders, 3 for farmers, 46 for copyholders. He was also granted all the lands and tenements in the town of Askeaton, except the castle and 40 acres reserved for the Crown. The grant comprises 12,000 (not 7000) English acres, and is dated 18th October, 1590.<sup>2</sup>

The fall of his patron, Perrot, clouded the prosperity and endangered the safety of the new constable of Askeaton, after a few months; for, in 1591, he was sent with other prisoners to London, but was eventually set free and given £100 compensation for his detention; his lands were also restored to him. He married Katherine, one of the numerous daughters of Dr. Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1596. His settlement now was 7250 acres, and 21 English families were planted on it.<sup>3</sup> He was appointed Governor of Limerick Castle, November 2nd, 1597, the patent being given free of seal because he was son-in-law to the Chancellor. Strange to say, the Crown gave a lease of "the castle or chief house called the Castle of Askeatinge" to Sir Anthony St. Leger, 17 October, 1598; but we may presume the outbreak a few weeks later brought the grant to an untimely end.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was not unprecedented among English soldiers in Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, and seems to have been agreeable to the economy of her administration, though at times very much to the advantage of the pensioner. For example, I have a copy of a patent, 10 Eliz., part 8 (1568), relating to which I find a later grant under 1599, in the Calendar of Domestic Papers (p. 505), for the latter year, where Captain Thomas Westropp, of Sutton, Yorkshire, resigns a pension of £18 for his services, and the loss of his right arm, in the Irish wars, receiving instead a lease of lands at Sutton worth £30 per annum, for thirty-one years.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Fiants, Eliz., No. 5469.

<sup>3</sup> C. S. P. I., p. 592 (1591), pp. 14, 60, 88.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. Fiants, No. 6347. St. Leger was granted Mellifont Abbey and many other places by this deed.



## THE WAR OF THE SUGAN EARL.

The last of the Earls of Desmond to "make history" was James, contemptuously called "the Sугan Earl." We may, after so many generations, call him here Earl of Desmond without political ill consequences. He was son of Sir Thomas Roe Fitzgerald (half-brother to the ill-starred Gerald, the 15th Earl), whose first wife, the daughter of Maurice Roche, Lord of Fermoy, being his own grandniece, the issue of their union was illegitimate. Sir Thomas, nevertheless, was recognised as Earl of Desmond by Philip and Mary, and sat in Parliament in 1555. He was knighted by Sidney in 1569, and died in peace in January, 1593. James had joined O'Neill in 1598, and been by him created or recognised as Earl of Desmond.<sup>1</sup>

The Lords Justices, Adam Loftus and others, had soon to write a dismal letter<sup>2</sup> (November 3, 1598), recounting a long list of "regrettable incidents," losses of small towns and castles, raids and revolts in all directions. The rebels, they stated, had come to the Castle of Askeaton, and offered conditions to Sir Francis Berkeley, that his wife and others should be safely conveyed to any port he chose; and called on him to surrender. Berkeley told them that the place was as rich and well furnished as ever it was in Desmond's time, and bade them do their worst. Thereupon the enemy promptly assailed it, and were expelled with heavy loss, upon which they retired from its neighbourhood, but watched the English. Twelve days later Loftus wrote again, pointing out how Askeaton Castle was of great importance and was much thirsted after by the rebels;<sup>3</sup> and how Captain Berkeley, being one of the sons of Sir Maurice, was already well known to their Lordships by his services for many years; he enclosed Berkeley's letter,<sup>4</sup> which commences—"From Her Majesty's Castle of Askeaton, where I now am environed with neighbours that seek always to disadvantage us and preventing all means that may minister to us any relief." Berkeley continues by telling how the revolt had been so sudden and unexpected that he had only the provision fitted for a private gentleman, when, on Friday, October 6th, 1598, at 8 o'clock at night, over 500 of the English settlers—men, women, and children—came pouring into the castle without provisions. He kept six score able men, and was fortunately able to send on the others in an English bark which lay on the Deel, to Limerick, where the Mayor saw them well cared for. He seems to have got in supplies of corn and beeves, and asked for 500 men, and he soon had got his refugees trained for service and anxious to avenge their losses. The enemy had only ventured on a twelve days' siege, and then fled precipitately on a (false) report that the Lord General was coming; but they had rallied. And he

<sup>1</sup> MSS. T.C.D., E. 3. 18.<sup>3</sup> C. S. P. I., p. 346.<sup>2</sup> C. S. P. I. (1598), p. 331.<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 347.

closed by telling how "my lands are wasted and burned, and my goods all taken away that are without the castle gate; there remaineth but my life, which shall be bestowed in Her Majesty's service." The condition of the garrison, however, was not absolutely desperate, for a certain James Gould wrote, the same day as Loftus, to the Earl of Ormonde to tell how he had convoyed provisions into Askeaton, and that it was safe. No further relief seems to have arrived that year; Sir Thomas Norreys mentions Berkeley and his "100 tall men of the English" as holding out and deserving pay. This despatch was brought to the Privy Council by Edmund Spenser, the poet, himself a sufferer, ruined in the same revolt.<sup>1</sup> The "Four Masters" merely note under 1598, "Eas Gephthine in Ui Connell Gaura plundered by the Sukan Earl."

#### 1599.—RELIEF OF ASKEATON.

In March Askeaton was still unrelieved, for "the traitors' galleys and other boats" still held the Shannon. At last, in June, the Earl of Essex visited Limerick, and hearing of the extremity of the garrison of Askeaton, set out to relieve and victual it in person. He was the more piqued to do so by Desmond "swearing to impeach" his pass, so he set out on June 8th to Adare, where the venerable bridges green with ivy spanned the Maigue near the noble ruins of the Desmond's Castle and the lofty towers and ivied gables of three monasteries. The enemy let him cross, and put seven companies in an old abbey (probably the Augustinian) which secured the bridge. Essex, Bingham, and the Earl of Thomond pressed forward, Thomond being in the van, "the forlorn hope," as it is strangely called. Desmond lay in a wooded place among bogs at Robhar (Rower), to the west of Adare, with "2000 or 3000 Connaught men and bonnaughts." Essex makes light of the ambushade, saying that 100 of the rebels fell and only six English, with twenty more hurt. If we had Thomond's report, it might give the more serious aspect which the skirmish presents in the pages of the "Four Masters"; the latter state that the Geraldines made a fierce resistance, "they discharged into their (the invaders') eyes the fire and smoke of their black powder and showers of balls from straightly-aimed guns." An English account says that Sir H. Norreys lost his leg and Captain Jennings was killed. Essex spent the night near Cappagh,<sup>2</sup> a broken and picturesque tower, with a walled and battlemented courtyard visible to the north of the railway, and one of the few interesting objects seen from the train between Adare and Askeaton.

<sup>1</sup> C. S. P. I. (1598), pp. 399, 400.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Lawless' "With Essex in Ireland" has a picturesque account of the spirits of those slain in the war passing before Essex in the night as he camped in Askeaton Friary. This has been treated as a genuine legend in a recent History. I certainly did not hear it from the people, or from the Morgans of Old Abbey, with whom I first visited the ruins in 1875. It is more likely that Essex would have slept in Askeaton Castle as a most welcome guest than in the ruined Friary.



The enemy only ventured on a slight attack, so the English reached Askeaton on the Sunday, June 10th, drove off the besiegers, and provisioned the castle in (about) the 247th day of the blockade. The "Four Masters" say that Essex stayed at his camp, sending on the convoy to Askeaton; but O'Sullivan Beare,<sup>1</sup> confirms the English account.

Berkeley, after the relief of his castle, was there knighted by Essex, for his brave maintenance of the siege, on June 12th,<sup>2</sup> and evidently followed him to Kilmallock. He "haunted and hunted"<sup>3</sup> Garrett Fitz-Nicholas and his kerne, capturing their cattle, horses, and corn supply in July, and left Askeaton in charge of a garrison of 300 soldiers in August to take various commands and commissions in Munster and Connaught. Sir Anthony St. Leger got a grant at Dublin, October 17th, 1599, of "A castle or chief house called the Castle of Askeatinge, with all edifices, buildings, towers, gardens, courts and bawns," and 40 acres which had been demised to Sir Francis Berkeley in the 32nd year of Her Majesty's reign. The mismanagement of the military authorities left James Fitz Thomas, the Sutan Earl, to blockade the castle (after Berkeley left) by November 18th. The Government were able again to revictual it about Christmas, but their army was ready to break up from foul weather and want of food, money, and clothing.<sup>4</sup>

## 1600-1610.

Sir G. Carew passed Askeaton Castle<sup>5</sup> in the summer of 1600, and put in a garrison of 700 foot and 75 horse, sending Oliver Stephenson to hold Corrig. Berkeley meanwhile was serving in the disturbed northern districts. He was at Elphin in August, and O'Donnell, taking advantage of a fog, nearly surprised his camp, but Berkeley, noticing his movement, let him come close; and "then seeing he meant mischief," beat him back, slaying 80 men.<sup>6</sup> Berkeley subsequently took an active part in the siege of Kinsale.

Finally, on May 29th, 1601, the Earl of Desmond was captured on the Galtees, and ended his days in the Tower of London, so fatal to others of his name. Neither his dashing gallantry, his attractive personality, nor the devotion of a province, saved him from this dismal fate;

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by O'Donovan ("Annals of the Four Masters") :—"Essexius Asketiniam pervenit in cujus castra Catholici noctu faciunt impetum."

<sup>2</sup> "Arms of Knights" (1565-1616), in Ulster's Office, Dublin Castle, Book i., p. 60 :—"S<sup>r</sup> Fraunces Barkley knighted at Asketon ye xij. of June, 1599. At Kilmalloe. King 20 shillings." The arms are given quarterly, 1st, gules, around a chevron argent, 10 crosses pattee 6 and 4. 2nd, or, a saltier engrailed sable. 3rd, az. two lions passant, or. 4th, gu., 10 bezants, 4. 3. 2. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Pacata Hibernia" (ed. 1810), cap. xii., p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> Carew (1599), p. 304; C. S. P. I., 1599-1600, p. 259, p. 343.

<sup>5</sup> Carew (1600), p. 401.

<sup>6</sup> "Pacata Hibernia" (ed. 1810), cap. vii., p. 316.



better had he died in that mountain glen a free man, as his kinsman died in the glen in Kerry.

The new year (1602) had scarcely commenced when Don Juan de Aquila came to terms with Carew, and the Spanish surrendered Kinsale to the English army.<sup>1</sup> This victory was commemorated by a most honourable monument, the foundation of the Library of Trinity College, by the soldiers. The rebellion then died out into a sullen "peace" of nearly forty years. Berkeley, in 1602-3, repaired Limerick Castle, and kept in efficiency the small garrison of Askeaton, numbering barely 150 men.<sup>2</sup> We hear little of the place; but during 1603 one of its citizens, Roger Rise, with Rowland Delahoyde, brought about the establishment of ferry boats on the lower Shannon. The fares are worth noting, and were regulated by the breadth of the river according as the ferry was near its estuary or farther up. The fee for a cow or garron varied from 4*d.* to 6*d.*, two sheep, goats, or pigs from 1*d.* to 1½*d.*, and passengers from 2*d.* to 3*d.*, any packs they carried being free.<sup>3</sup> Berkeley, the same year, petitioned against the action of the Crown rent collector, who (foreshadowing the illegal claims that cost the second Stuart King his head) claimed the same rent for unprofitable as for profitable land contrary to the terms of the grant of Queen Elizabeth. Askeaton was disturbed by rumours; the first news of the gunpowder plot said that it had been successful, and that John Mac Thomas, a titular Earl of Desmond, was about to arrive in the district supported by a Spanish army. We—though we may have occasionally suffered from false rumours—can scarcely imagine the serious danger and misery caused in those times by news that our better knowledge of public events would have saved us from fully believing till the speedy refutation overtook the falsehood. In those days a rumour that would scarcely lead to the publication of a "stop press" in our time, paralysed business and kept the authorities in grave correspondence and deep anxiety for many weeks. Berkeley's neighbourly feelings towards the native gentry led O'Sullivan Beare to write to him about this time, entreating his intercession with the Government for restoration to his lands and the royal favour.<sup>4</sup> King James, in 1603, granted to Sir R. Boyle the churches of Ballengarie, Gare or Garrestown; Askettan, Askeatinge, or Askeaton; Kilmachoe; Lismakyre or Lesmackyre, and Eglishe O'Rossey (Iveross), part of the estate of the dissolved Abbey of Kensham, in England.<sup>5</sup>

In 1606, despite the deep unrest, the Government, from motives of economy, cut down the pay of its soldiers and the strength of its garrisons; Berkeley found himself left to keep down a large discontented city (writhing under religious disabilities and every real and imaginary grievance), with a constable, a porter, a "cannoneer," and

<sup>1</sup> "Pacata Hibernia," cap. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Carew (1602), pp. 226, 366, 396.

<sup>3</sup> C. S. P. I. (1603), p. 352.

<sup>4</sup> C. S. P. I., pp. 380, 432, 454, 512.

<sup>5</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1 Jas. I., lxviii, p. 12.

twenty warders. The constable was paid 3*s.* a day; the porter, 9*d.*; the "cannoneer," 1*s.* 4*d.*; and the warders, 8*d.* each. As no outbreak took place, the Government two years later discharged Berkeley from his captaincy, but let him hold the two fortresses of Limerick and Askeaton as best he was able.<sup>1</sup>

#### WALLING AND INCORPORATION OF ASKEATON, 1610-1615.

In January, 1610, Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy, was visited by Sir Francis Berkeley, who offered to wall Askeaton town on such terms as the Lord Deputy should think fit. A few months later the King directed Chichester to pass the Castle of Askeaton and 40 acres of land in fee-farm to Sir Francis Berkeley, as he had offered to make the castle a place of refuge for the English in those parts. He also constituted the Constable's lands to be the Manor of Rock Barkeley, and established a fair and weekly markets. By a second letter (April 25th, 1611), the King further granted the Constablership of Limerick to "Morice" Berkeley for life, after the death of his father Francis. From a third document in the same collection we learn that "Rock Barklie" was also called "Magnestre," evidently from the ruined monastery, and that the lands had originally been confiscated from Donough Mac Teige.<sup>2</sup>

Askeaton, even if a feeble "walled town," was now ripe for another act of the Government, whose influence was weak in the counties and older towns, and who were at once anxious to strengthen the new colonies and uneasy as to the strength of their own party in the next Parliament. A number of small boroughs were incorporated, with small close constituencies, and among the rest we find, "Askeyton,"<sup>3</sup> October 20th, 1612. Edmund Drew was first "portrieve or provost," and the burgesses were Sir Francis Barkley, Edmund Ley, Roger Rue, William Rastell, Henry Widnam, John Eaton, Gilbert Rue, Anthony Cooper, John Green, John Atkinson, John Stokes, and Andrew Davys.<sup>4</sup> Drew, Lee,

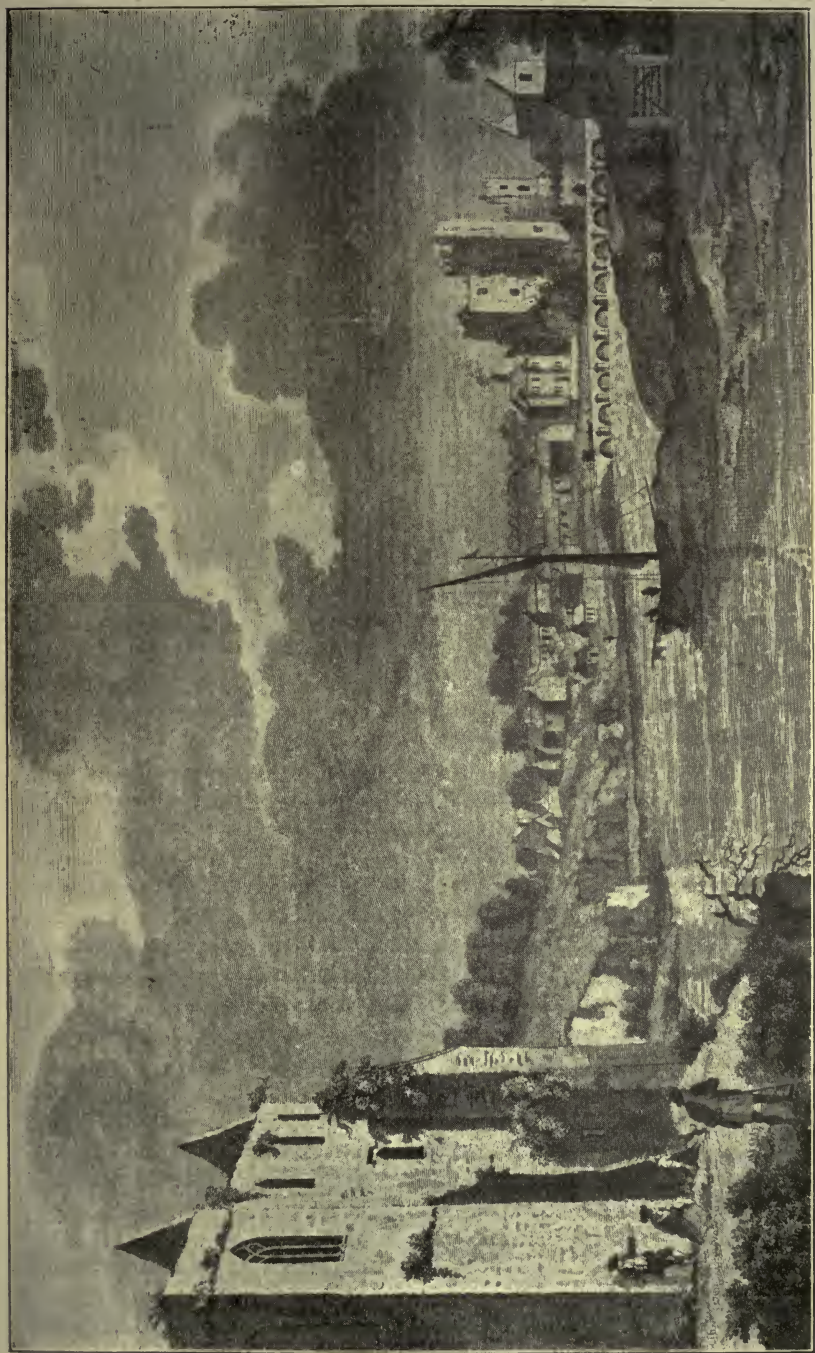
<sup>1</sup> C. S. P. I. (1606), p. 580 (1607), p. 87. The neglect of Limerick Castle was no new policy. In about 1224 the C. S. P. I., p. 187, records how "in the Castle of Limerick there were found (articles) worth scarcely 18 pence, as broken dishes," &c.

<sup>2</sup> C. S. P. I. (1610), pp. 351, 430, 433, 577.

<sup>3</sup> Members of Parliament for Askeaton—1613. Anthony Stoughton and Roger Rice. 1639. Maur. Williams and George Crofton, 1661. Peter Pett and Richard Southwell. 1689. John Burke and Edward Rice. 1691. Robert Taylor and John Odell. 1693. George Evans and Robert Taylor. 1696. Chichester Philips. 1703. Robert Taylor, junior, and Chichester Philips. 1713. Robert Taylor and Philip Percival. 1715. John Bury and Edward Denny. 1723. Berkeley Taylor. 1727. Berkeley and Edmond Taylor. 1729. William Taylor. 1747. John Minchin Walcott. 1753. Edmond Malone. 1761. Joseph Hoare and Sir James Cotter. 1768. J. Hoare and Hon. Hugh Massy. 1783. Sir J. Hoare, Bart., and Richard Griffith. 1790. Sir J. Hoare and Henry Alexander. 1797. John Seward. 1799. Sir Vere Hunt, Bart. The single names were persons elected in succession to dead or retiring members.

<sup>4</sup> C. S. P. I. (1612), p. 293.





"TOWN AND CASTLE OF ASKEATON—TAKEN FROM THE RUINS OF THE ABBEY."  
(Painted by P. Sandby, R.A.; published 1779.)



Widenham, Cooper, Green, and Atkinson established county families in Limerick, Tipperary, and Clare. Not contented with the safe boroughs, every means were taken to elect Government supporters for the counties and old towns. The election was far from being above suspicion, and indeed it is impossible to say anything more charitable than that the methods on both sides were of equal "integrity." To give one example—In Limerick, Edward Fitz Harris and Jefferie Galway were said to have been elected by 314 freeholders, yet the sheriff returned Sir Francis Berkeley and Sir Thomas Browne. The matter was gone into by the Parliament, and many of the complainants' votes were found to be given by unqualified persons, and also many were absent whose names were recorded. The cause being lost, the complainants confessed that this was so; but the successful side by no means cleared away all suspicion from themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Berkeley, however, continued on no bad terms with his Irish neighbours, and was accused to the Government, and found guilty, of violating his articles of plantation by harbouring Irish husbandmen. The matter seems to have been speedily dropped by the authorities, who had few friends to spare, at any rate in those days. The seignory of Rockbarkeley is stated in the same memorandum to have consisted of some 1200 acres of demesne, 900 in fee-farm, 1200 evicted, 1100 leased, and 36 in other tenures. The muster was 21 foot and 7 horsemen. Berkeley used to bring his tenants to church, and employed Irish-speaking ministers, which "made the people very attentive." He did, according to his lights, all that was possible for his tenants, and evidently had succeeded in undoing much of the ravage of two civil wars, before his death, which took place at Askeaton Castle on December 20th, 1615.<sup>2</sup> He was succeeded by his eldest son, Maurice Berkeley, then aged 17 years and 10 months, who became governor of Limerick Castle, and married, but died young (aged 24), on September 8th, 1622. His brother, Henry, a boy of 16, succeeded to the Askeaton estates, Limerick Castle being granted to his brother-in-law, George Courtenay; but Henry died before the age of 20; and his co-heirs were found to be his nephew and sisters, William Courtenay (son of George Courtenay and his wife, Katherine Berkeley), Elizabeth, wife of George Crofton, then aged 20, Frances Berkeley, and Gertrude, wife of John Taylor.<sup>3</sup> Through the descendants of the last named, the blood of Sir Francis Berkeley is preserved among the landowners of the district. Livery of the estates was given to Elizabeth Crofton and Gertrude Taylor on November 21st, 1626, the other sisters not being mentioned. Frances successively married Thomas Blayney of Tregonan, Denbighshire, by whom she left

<sup>1</sup> C. S. P. I. (1613), p. 362; Carew (1613), p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> *Inq. post mortem* (Exchequer).

<sup>3</sup> *Inq. post mortem*.

issue, and James Purcell, of Croagh, who died without issue; her sister, Katherine Courtenay, also died without issue.<sup>1</sup>

#### REVIVAL OF THE CONVENT.

It is evident that there had been a most complete break in the history and life of Askeaton Convent. The indefatigable Father Donat Mooney in 1617 was unable (through the dispersion of the monks and the establishment of the English colony) to collect any facts of value about it or even (one concludes from his unusual silence) to visit its ruins. His account seems all the more scanty from the interesting and, to students of monastic architecture in Ireland, invaluable particulars about the Franciscan Friary of Adare, which almost immediately precede his notice of Askeaton. Strange to say, while he apologises for the Adare notes as meagre (though giving copious extracts from the convent register and full particulars about the founders of each part of the building, and about the plate, vestments and monks), he makes no apology for the truly meagre notes on Lislactin and Askeaton. He writes—"The Convent of Askeaton is said to have been built by the Earl of Desmond. It has not been inhabited by the Friars for many years. In the wars against the Geraldines of Munster the inmates were treated in a most barbarous manner by the English under Sir Nicholas Malbi. Some were put to death for the Faith; among these martyrs of Christ was Father John Conor, whose remains are buried in the Chapter Room. I have been unable to ascertain the names of the others."<sup>2</sup>

The unconquerable courage and vitality of the Franciscans resuscitated the convent in 1627, when Father Francis Matthew was Provincial. Some Friars "at the instance of many of the nobles (*i.e.* men of family) began to dwell among the ruins of the convent and repaired it, so far as the persecution would allow them." Father Hugh Ward, who records this in his "*Brevis Synopsis Provinciæ Hiberniæ*,"<sup>3</sup> about 1630,

<sup>1</sup> A very full account (*temp.* William III.) of Berkeley's descendants is given in the great Loftus Pedigree (MSS. T.C.D., f. 2. 23, pp. 95-115). From Gertrude's son, William Taylor, descend the Barons Massy, who succeeded to Ballinort, and the Taylors of Hollypark: from her daughters the families of Gore and Westropp (see *Journal*, vol. xx. (1890), pp. 74, 78, 79); of Gore-Hickman and many others. From Frances Blayney descend, among others, the Croftons, Blayneys, Brownes (of Newgrove, Clare), and Ormsbys. See also Appendix to Thirtieth Annual Report of Deputy Keeper of the Records (Patent Rolls, 1626, Roll I., Close); also Calendar of Domestic Papers for November, 1672, giving curious particulars of the alleged plot of Captain Thomas Walcott, son-in-law of Frances Blayney, to seize Limerick Castle, and bring help from Holland, and his offer to Mountfort Westropp, son-in-law to Gertrude. It presents a curious picture of the jealousies between the Royalist and Cromwellian families, and the deep discontent of both parties against the Government. The last person of the name is "Mr. Purcell, *alias* Berkly," of Croagh Gowne, in the parish of Croagh, 1655, in the "*Book of Distribution*," p. 21 (Limerick). I cannot locate him in the family unless the "d.s.p." is wrongly recorded of James Purcell, of Croagh.

<sup>2</sup> "The Franciscan Tertiary" (Dublin, April, 1895), vol. v., p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Copied for me by the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly, at the Library of the Franciscan Convent, Dublin.

unfortunately gives no further particulars. However, by his time the tradition of the unmolested community, dispersed 52 years back, must have got very dim—no less from the interval of time than from the expulsion of all the better class adherents of the ruined house of Desmond from the town and its neighbourhood. The records preserve no appointment of a guardian from 1629 to 1645; probably the monks who haunted the ruin never attempted to organise themselves; but a great change was near at hand.

#### THE CONFEDERATES.

Fifteen years after the return of the monks Askeaton was reduced by the Confederate Catholics. Lord Broghill had sent 200 soldiers to garrison the castle a few months before; but the summer passed, and the Irish besieged the place, and there seemed no hope of relief. Belling<sup>1</sup> preserves the terms of the capitulation: "August 14th, 1642.—Lieut.-Col. Purcell and the Council of his Majesty's Catholiques for the Province of Munster for the one part, and the Warden of Askeaton for the other." The articles were—1-3. The arms, munitions, and horses of the garrison and goods belonging to Catholics were to be surrendered. 4. The English and Irish warders to have their lives and safe conduct to Downarayle or Corcke, with their goods, and half the books in the Castle. 5. To swear on the Evangelists not to bear arms against the King, and to sign and seal the same. 6. The garrison and inhabitants to be unmolested in the Protestant religion. It was signed for the Confederates by Patrick Purcell, Oliver Stephenson (of Castleconnell), Maurice de Rupe (Roche of Fermoy), Richard Butler and Thomas Purcell. Among the besiegers were Purcells, Stephensons, Fitzgeralds, Herberts, Donough O'Brien of Carrigogunnell, gent. and captain; Dermot and Murrough O'Brien of Ballykett (Co. Clare), and Macnamara of the same, captains; Lycett of Fannigiston (Fanningstown), Macmahon, and Dominick Fanning, Mayor of Limerick. A letter from the Lords Justices to the Commissioners in London, dated September 1st, 1642, seems written in ignorance of the surrender. The rebels, with the ordnance found in Limerick Castle, it runs, "have taken all the castles in the county of Limerick except Asketon," and the numbers of the English who had been maintained in these castles was so great that the refugees to Youghal caused great scarcity.<sup>2</sup>

Those who have searched through the great collection of depositions relating to the rising in Limerick in 1641-42 and the huge rolls wherein, with lavish waste of parchment and stern economy of detailed entries,

<sup>1</sup> "History of the Irish Confederates and the War in Ireland" (J. T. Gilbert), vol. ii., xxxvi., p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS. iii., pp. 268, 272; Gilbert's "History of the Irish Confederates and the War in Ireland" (1882), vol. ii., pp. 53, 54.



are set the receipts, booty, and expenditure of Axtell's regiment, found little to reward them so far as Askeaton is concerned.

Askeaton is only named once, so far as I can find, in the 1641 depositions, and then only as the residence of a person casually named in one of them. In 1653, however, commissioners were appointed to take evidence against the leading Confederates. They sat at Mallow, and one of the deponents, "Christopher Webb, of Mallow, aged twenty-seven yeares," told briefly how, in 1641, "he lived at Archkeaton in y<sup>e</sup> County of Limbrick . . . that the said (Oliver) Stephenson was in Actuell Armes against y<sup>e</sup> English in y<sup>e</sup> yeare 1641. This Deponent's cause of Knowledge is that hee was in y<sup>e</sup> Castle of Archkeaton aforesaid, when y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Castle was taken by y<sup>e</sup> Irish, and that after it was surrendered he saw y<sup>e</sup> said Stephenson Amongst y<sup>t</sup> p<sup>ty</sup> (that party) that tooke y<sup>e</sup> said Castle, and was called by name of Maior Generall. The Deponent further saith y<sup>t</sup> hee had a passe fr: him and Lt.-Gen: Purcell after y<sup>e</sup> Castle was surrendered to repaire to Rathgoggan Castle, in the County of Corke."<sup>1</sup>

#### THE RESTORED CONVENT.

The victory of the Confederates enabled the monks to repair and openly re-establish their long ruined home. It is evident from the ruins that no rebuilding took place; very probably the church was cleared from the *débris* of the fallen tower, and the buildings, or a portion, were roofed and refurnished. Lewis gives the date as 1648, but the probabilities, and the date on the Stephenson monument, make it clear that this is a misprint for 1643. The monument was erected (as we shall see) in 1646, to Richard Stephenson and his son Oliver; the latter fell in the battle of Liscarroll; the upper tablet is dated 1642. I fail to identify any other structural feature of the convent as belonging to that anxious period.<sup>2</sup>

In 1645 Jerome Herbert was elected by the monks as guardian, being re-elected in 1647 and 1648, and he held office till 1650, when Owen O'Caghan, s.t.l., was elected. In Herbert's time (1647) the bodies of Patrick Healy, Bishop of Mayo, and Cornelius Rorke, who had been executed in August, 1578, were, it is said, removed to this convent with great pomp and there buried.<sup>3</sup> After this the acts of the Chapter are significantly silent, till the iron rule of Cromwell closed. In all probability the monks fled abroad, or remained in close concealment. The restoration of Charles brought the possibility of reorganization. In 1661 William Hurley was appointed guardian; he must have been re-elected several times, as he was only succeeded by Francis Wall in 1670. In conclusion, and to keep together these notes, we record the succession of

<sup>1</sup> Depositions, T.C.D. Library, Clare and Limerick, p. 387, March 7, 1653. Before H. Wheeler and Tho. Coakley.

<sup>2</sup> For the Stephensons, see Appendix D, at end of this Paper.

<sup>3</sup> O'Reilly's "Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith," p. 189.

guardians as—Jeremiah Herbert, 1670, re-elected 1675, 1676, 1681, 1683, 1687; Donatus Mahon, 1672; William Healy (? Hurley), 1678. The appointment was left to the discretion of the Provincial in 1680. John Mulcahy was elected 1684; David Geraldine (Fitzgerald) in 1689, 1690. In his term of office I find a legacy of £6 left to the monks of Askeaton by Daniel, Viscount Clare.<sup>1</sup> Then a blank occurs from the tremendous change of that and the following year, and the reversal of the indifferent or friendly policy of the Stuarts.

Patrick Purcell was guardian 1697 and 1703 to 1711; Anthony MacEnery, 1699–1701; John Davis, 1702. The last appointments under the Stuarts were Anthony MacEnery in 1711 and Francis Hickey in 1714. The guardianship must have been a mere shadow after 1690, though we may suppose that a few monks long dwelt in the neighbourhood and haunted the ruins of their “holy and beautiful house”; we find no such traces of the survival of the convent as are found at Quin, Clare-Galway, Ennis—where one of the monks assisted the parish priest, and was always as such chosen guardian—and elsewhere. The mere nominal appointments down to 1872 are reserved for an appendix to this Paper.<sup>2</sup>

#### ASKEATON AFTER 1650.

Any account of Askeaton after 1650 must be at present very fragmentary. The “life-history” of the castle ended in 1652, for it was taken without recorded struggle and dismantled by Captain Axtell, Governor of Kilkenny.<sup>3</sup> The enormous parchment rolls of Axtell’s accounts in 1652–3 give us no particulars about Askeaton, nor are any found in the Order Books of the period. Popular tradition in 1875 yet told how the ubiquitous “Cromwell” had undermined the castle, propping it with beams as he worked, and then burning the supports; half the massive keep fell by its own weight. As the method was in use at the period, we may receive the story—less the name of Cromwell—until better evidence supports or refutes it. The Stephenson family are reputed (we think most doubtfully) to have expelled the monks “the second time” (whether the term implies 1651 or 1691), and to have torn down the high altar and made their tomb on its site.

We do not purpose following the failing fortunes of Askeaton down to modern times, but are unwilling to omit a few scattered notes throwing a gleam of light on its history. In August, 1655, a description of Askeaton is found in the Civil Survey of County Limerick in the Record Office, Dublin<sup>4</sup>:—

<sup>1</sup> Inquisition, Record Office, Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> I take these elections from a list painstakingly and most kindly compiled for this essay by the Rev. Mr. O’Reilly, Librarian of the Franciscan Convent, Dublin, from the invaluable records in his keeping. (See Appendix C.)

<sup>3</sup> “History of Limerick” (Fitz Gerald and Macgregor), 1826, vol. i., p. 361.

<sup>4</sup> MSS., pp. 66, 67.

"Asketton town and Lands, beinge a mannor with the Priviledge of a Courte Leete and Court Barronn, five plowlands and halfe with a Castle and a greate stone buildinge, an Abbie and church; a corporate Town; two Mills, whereof one belongs to Mrs. Crofton, with a greate Bridge, a fishing Leape, Three Eele weares, Three Salmon weares, Two ffares in the yeere and a markett once in the weeke, all thereunto belonging; mearinge on the East with Ballihomyne and Englands towne; on the South with Bolliglass; on the West with Tomdily and Ballinecahirigh and on the north with Tomdili and Moaghnerlla. The River of Deelee runeth through the said lands (p. 67). Abbie Land in Asketten, twentie Irish Acres mearinge with Moagh on the East, and the South with Asketton towne, on the West with the River of Deelee, and on the north with Ballinash" (p. 66).

In 1663 More Purcell, plaintiff, claimed two jointures. Thomas O'Hagan proved that she sent provisions to the Irish at Castlehaven (really Castletown, Sir Hardress Waller's house, in the other depositions) and Askeaton; she paid her proportion towards maintaining the soldiers at the river.<sup>1</sup> Many, like More Purcell, found the memory of those acts (undertaken for a cause so sacred and once bearing all before it), rising up to their detriment and ruin, when, in the midway of this our mortal life, "they had to face poverty and other grim realities and try to win back a pittance from the wreck of their family and fortune from unsympathetic judges and hostile interests."

In 1690, during the siege of Limerick, we find Richard Taylor of Ballinort, corresponding with King William's officers, giving information on the dangerous state of his district, and asking for a garrison. He also sent an acceptable present of dainties to the King.<sup>2</sup>

In 1712 an attempt was made to get the Government to refit the castle: "Motives humbly offered by the Earl of Orrery to induce her Matie to Erect Askeaton Castle in the County Limerick into a Government."<sup>3</sup>

"This castle was built and fortified as a stronge hold by the Earl of Desmond, and was of great and singular service to him in his Rebellion in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: the town was made a Burrow and corporation by letters patents from King James the First.

"It is scituated in an Island made by a Division of the River about one hundred yeards above the Castle, and united again at a less distance below to which the tyde flowes and makes it a navigable river to the Shannon, where it empties itself after a course of Three mile and is one of the best passes for crossing that river into the County of Clare. The want of

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of the Carte Papers (ed. Prendergast), Part III., p. 155, No. 347.

<sup>2</sup> Correspondence relating to the War in Ireland, MSS. R.I.A., vol. vi., No. 3; and Lenihan's "History of Limerick," p. 250. The very interesting will of Taylor is preserved in Dublin (Limerick Registry). It dates 1693; proved, 1697.

<sup>3</sup> Southwell MSS., Record Office, Dublin, vol. ii., p. 131.



wh<sup>ch</sup> conveniency was of great detriment and delay to the speedy reducing of Limerick in both the late rebellions of '41 and '88.

"It will alsoe be of great security to The Protestants already settled there, as well as an Encouragement to others to settle, there being at present no barracks near to protect them from the Insults of Irish Rapparees.

"Its scituation near the Confines of Kerry makes it a key to that County and commands the best passes from Thence for carriages, &c., which may be annoyed or sustained by this garrison.

"It will alsoe greatly secure the navigation of the Shannon, there being noe fortress now Thereon from the mouth of the River to the city of Limerick, tho sixty mile distant.



ASKEATON CASTLE.

(Drawn by G. Holmes; published 1799.)

"The ffortress is at present ruinous; but the Earl of Orrery proposes for the sum of five hundred pounds from the Government (*sic*) to put it into repair, and to keep it soe continually at his own charge provided Her Majestie will make him Governor of it at the usual allowance and with the accustomed profitts made to the other Governors of Corke and Limerick. The Earl of Orrery, having three-fourths of Entire mannor and town of Askeaton hopes from thence as well as from the advantage that is likely to accrue by this proposal to the Publick to be well entitled to this favour from her Matie."

The Crofton name long remained attached to the locality. I find in the settlement between Richard Taylor of Rock Abbey, Thomas Westropp of Ballysteen, and John Colles (made on the marriage of the first with Mary Colles), 21st January, 1783,<sup>1</sup> that Taylor conveyed May or Mayast or Rock Abbey, near Askeaton, on which the abbey stands, commonly called the Abbey Parks, and Crofton's Brook, to the trustees. I have met little other mention, even incidentally, of the abbey in the eighteenth century. Grose describes the castle under a wrong name, with an illustration of 1792.<sup>2</sup>

Through the kindness of Mr. Philip H. Hore, I am enabled to give reproductions of two interesting (if not very accurate) engravings of the period. The first gives a view of the "TOWN and CASTLE of ASKEYTON taken from the RUINS of the ABBEY." It very much exalts the latter building, and, for picturesque purposes (worthy of the landscape drawings of the famed Dr. Syntax), doubles the number of arches in the bridge.<sup>3</sup> It was "published, as the Act directs, by G. Kearsly, No. 46, Fleet-street, March 1st, 1779. P. Sandby, R.A., pinxit." We may note that the club-house at the castle appears in this view. Another illustration dates from, or at least was published August 1st, 1799, from a sketch of G. Holmes, engraved by J. Walker, of Roseman's-street, London. It reappears in much more accurate form twenty-seven years later in Fitz Gerald and Macgregor's History. It shows the five-arched bridge, with the castle and hall behind it, but not the club-house.

The town was disfranchised at the Union, and £15,000 paid as compensation to the Earl of Carrick and Lord Massey (as representatives of the Berkeleys through their marriages with the co-heiresses of William Taylor of Ballinort), Sir Vere Hunt and Sir Joseph Hoare, baronets.<sup>4</sup> The Corporation became extinct; the Manorial Court died in 1834, with its last seneschal, and was replaced by the unromantic Petty Sessions Court. Even in 1811 the Vice-Provost of Askeaton, Richard Taylor, "had never heard of there being any public record, roll, instrument, manuscript book, or paper belonging to the borough, and had never held any,"<sup>5</sup> so that there seems little hope indeed of any really satisfactory history being compiled for the latter days of steady decadence and abuse of the little "pocket borough" and corporation, founded with such high hopes of prosperity and consolidation of English interest two hundred years before, and which had from the first been galvanized into life, and maintained in it against reason and almost against destiny for many

<sup>1</sup> Dublin Registry of Deeds, B. 361, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Grose's "Antiquities of Ireland," vol. ii., Plate 39, "Rockbarton" Castle, i.e. Rockbarkeley.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say gives ten arches. The view in "Pacata Hibernia" (c. 1586) shows six. The bridge at present has that number, but one is closed by the quay, as in 1799, so that only five are seen from the Abbey.

<sup>4</sup> Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary," vol. i., pp. 80, 81.

<sup>5</sup> "Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ," Part iv., p. 247.

generations. Where I have failed to give a full and connected history, especially in this closing century of the place, I can only hope for the pardon of my readers, and that the time may come which may make possibly a more worthy history of the chequered fortunes of the castle, convent, and town of Askeaton.

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#### CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

Page 35, *supra*.—Having since copied the entire Rental of O'Conyll, 1452, I find, near its end, far from the Survey of Innyskefti, the following note among the "Regalia de O'Conyll":—"Castro de Innyskesty, xls.," which escaped my notice. This implies that there is no break in the existence of the castle, though its repair by Gerald, the seventh Earl of Desmond, is still more than probable.

Page 38 (prefix to note 2).—In 1443, James, Earl of Desmond, was licensed, by the Deputy, James, Earl of Ormond, to absent himself from Parliament (Sir James Ware's "Antiquities and History of Ireland" (ed. 1705) under year).

(To be completed.)



## THE OGHAM MONUMENT AT KILBONANE.

BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

[Read MARCH 31, 1903.]

I COMMENCE this Paper with three postulates :—

First : That there is literary evidence that in the days when Ogham writing was in use, the characters were cut on twigs, and that the written twigs were sometimes looped or wreathed into a circle. We read of at least one case of such a looped twig, bearing an important announcement, and on the monument at Logie, in Aberdeenshire, there seems to be an illustration of such a wreath.

Secondly : That apart from Ogham *writing* there appears to have been a kind of secret jargon in use in Ireland, which is referred to as the Ogham *language*, and is described more than once as an accomplishment of men of learning ; and that fragments of the same or a similar jargon exist in the shape of a vocabulary known as the *Bearlagair na Saor*.

Thirdly : That it is possible for an artificial dialect to obtain currency and to become, as it were, a second language to its speakers, even when the words are mere random inventions. Volapük can be acquired, like any other language, by anyone who has time to waste : in this "language" the different words are more or less empirical. When the words are formed by cryptographical processes from the words of another language, the memory is to some extent aided by association. Shelta, which is Irish written backwards, and which is spoken by certain tramps, is an illustration of the possibility of a "cryptographic" jargon becoming a fluently-spoken language.

These three postulates smooth the way for the interpretation I propose in the following Paper of the very singular Ogham monument lying in the old church of Kilbonane.

The writing covers two angles of the slab and the face between them. The inscription on the face is in two lines and is independent of the inscription on the angles.

The angle inscription is damaged in places ; but after weighing all possible alternative readings at the injured points, the following may be put forward, with a fair measure of certainty, as the original intention of the engraver :—

. . . AGNI MAQI ADDILONA INAGENE MUÇO-BIDANI.

("Of . . . agnos, son of Addilon, daughter of the tribesman of Bidanis.")

For my present purpose there is no special remark that need be

made on this inscription, interesting though it be for several reasons, except on the question of the missing letters to be restored at the commencement of the legend. The scribe commenced his work with a mistake, writing first a B, which he afterwards scratched out. After the B is a space now blank, containing just room for at most eight scores, before we reach the surviving AGNI. *It is important to notice that these scores must have been vowels or H-group consonants only*, as the B-surface is quite uninjured, and shows no mark whatever, except a faint, and, I am persuaded, natural furrow, like the tail of an M. The H-surface, however, is chipped and broken.

Why did the scribe first cut a B? It can hardly have been an accident. The more I think of it the more I feel the probability that he was copying an exemplar cut on a looped twig; and, not observing at first the exact place where the legend began, started with BIDANI.

The face-inscription runs as follows:—

NIR <<< MNIDAGNISSICONIDDALA  
AMITBAIDAGNI.

When I, as well as others, previously treated of this inscription, we considered the B in the second line to belong to the angle-inscription—an *a priori* possibility. In the same way the D of BIDANI has been transferred to the face-inscription, and so in previous copies the second line appears as LAMITAI DAGNI.

It ought, however, to have been obvious to me that the true reading is BAIDAGNI, and that it is to be equated to the MUCO-BIDANI at the end of the angle-inscription. This equation is nearly equivalent to the Monastagart DALAGNI = MAQI DALI.

It may be at once admitted that in despite of all attempts that have been made, this inscription has defied analysis into satisfactory Irish of any period. But the clue afforded by BAIDAGNI leads us to search the rest of the inscriptions for similar correspondences; and we soon find IDAGNI, which *exactly* fills all the necessary conditions for the restoration of the first name in the angle-inscription, and IDDALA-, which is unmistakably parallel to ADDILO-NA. By our looped twig *Deus ex machina* we may complete the correspondence in the latter case, transferring the NI from the beginning to its proper place at the end of the first line.

Re-arranging the face-inscription in accordance with the theories suggested, we have the following equation between the two legends on the stone:—

R <<< MN IDAGNI ESSICON IDDALANI AMIT BAIDAGNI  
= (id)AGNI MAQI ADDILONA INAGENE MUCO-BIDANI

The word with which the inscription opens may perhaps be a key-word, giving a clue to the particular form of jargon employed. If, as

there seems reason to conclude from the Ballymote treatise on Ogham writing, various forms were in use, some such clue must have been necessary to afford a key when the writing was not in standard Irish nor in the standard alphabet. If we write the word in Ogham letters, and underneath it write the same word backwards :

$$\begin{array}{c} ||||| < < < | \\ ||||| < < < | \\ ||||| < < < | \\ ||||| < < < | \end{array}$$

a correspondence will be noted between the number of scores in corresponding letters—a fact probably not without significance.

The name IDDALANI is formed from ADDILONA by the mere interchange of I and A. Properly speaking we should have IDDALONI; but the second A comes at the extreme top of the stone, and there is no room for the second vowel-point. The scribe, therefore, omitted or overlooked it.

ESSICON and AMIT must correspond to MAQI and INAGENE respectively. There is no legitimate language likely to be found on a monument in Kerry in which these words have these meanings: it follows, therefore, if the other correspondence be not merely a chain of curious coincidences, that they are arbitrary words invested with the meanings in question. It would be interesting to know if in any of the vocabularies of *Bearlagair na Saor* such or similar words have such meanings.

On their etymology it is hardly profitable to speculate; but I think I have hit on a possible explanation of the existence of the form AMIT = daughter. If the word for *son* is written MAQV (like QVECI in the Drumloghan cave-inscription), it will be seen that AMIT can be derived from it by an interchange of letter-groups—

$$\begin{array}{c} / \quad ||||| \\ | \quad \quad | \quad | \quad | \\ \text{M A} \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{V} \\ \hline / \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \\ | \quad \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \quad | \\ \text{A M} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{T} \end{array}$$

Theoretically, of course, we should have AMNT; but that would not be pronounceable. ESSICON by analogy should have some connexion with INGEN: the only way I can connect these is by the unsatisfactory device of moving the first three letters a step forward in the scale, and leaving the other four as they stand. This gives INNICON, which, however, is still some distance off INGEN. But analogy is an unsafe guide in so empirical a subject.

However these words may have been invented, I think I have shown that the Kilbonane monument affords reason for believing—

(1) That the MS. romances state a credible fact when they assert that Ogham was written on looped twigs.



(2) That a jargon was actually spoken, founded on Irish written in the Ogham alphabet, and treated cryptographically in accordance with the transpositions shown in the Ballymote treatise: and that this is the language referred to as "Ogham" in the Annals.

(3) That this jargon had obtained such currency that it might even be written on monuments with no thought of secrecy or trifling. I take it that those who had the Kilbonane monument inscribed had it cut (as they thought) in the two languages known in the district, just as their brethren in Wales erected monuments in Irish and Latin.

(4) That Ogham monuments were carved, not by the survivors of the deceased, but by stone-cutters or professional scribes, just as at the present day. The scribe of the Kilbonane stone knew Irish, and could write it in Ogham, but was ignorant of the jargon. Hence when he commenced writing in the wrong place, he detected his mistake on the first occasion, but not on the second.

How far this interpretation will stand criticism I cannot foresee. But I may claim that it affords an explanation of the inscription on the Kilbonane stone, less strained than any other interpretation, founded on a philological analysis, that has yet been brought forward.

OCCUPATION<sup>1</sup> OF CONNAUGHT BY THE ANGLO-NORMANS  
AFTER A.D. 1237.

BY H. T. KNOX, M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

*(Continued from page 74.)*

## PART IV.

To appreciate justly the FitzGerald position and action in Connaught during the thirteenth century, the position in Ulster must be taken into account.

Amabill's deeds show that her father held Tirconnell and Fermanagh.<sup>2</sup> An early grant of Fermanagh explains why Maurice FitzGerald built castles at Clones and at Caeluisce, now Castlecallywell, on Lough Erne. I infer that Maurice retired from Fermanagh after the destruction of his castles in 1213, and that he took up Carbury and Tirconnell together. Maurice and his son Maurice interfered repeatedly in Tirconnell and Fermanagh from 1238 to 1260. O'Donnell burnt Sligo in 1270. A castle was built at Caeluisce again in 1252. From 1286 onwards the Earl alone appears in these proceedings, taking the hostages of O'Neill and O'Donnell, and constituting and deposing chiefs. The last proceeding of the kind was in 1291. In 1305 the new Castle of Inishowen was built. Cenel Eoghain was kept in the Earl's hands. In 1318 an O'Neill was deposed, but returned. Thereafter no collisions between foreigners and Cenel Conaill or Cenel Eoghain are recorded,<sup>3</sup> save in Bruce's invasion, an occasion of general rising in which even O'Kellys and some O'Maddens and O'Malleys joined. The result of this effort convinced them of their feebleness against the great power of the Earl of Ulster, to whom they gave no more trouble. It was not increase of their power, but total disappearance of the Earl's power in 1338, that made them independent. The king's power had become but a shadow in Connaught and Ulster, being based on that of the Earl only. The Earl had taken the place of the king, and of a vigorous king, and gave his dominions a degree of peace unknown to the greater part of Ireland.

Sir Maurice FitzMaurice's estates were divided between his daughters

<sup>1</sup> The Paper on the "Occupation of the County Galway" was prepared for the meeting at Galway, and was confined to that county (*Journal*, vol. xxxi., p. 365).

<sup>2</sup> R. B. 266, 267. For explanation of references, see p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> L. C. 1212, 1213, 1238, 1239, 1242, 1245-6-7-8, 1250, 1252-3, 1257, 1259, 1260, 1270, 1286, 1291, 1305, 1310, 1319.

Amabill and Juliana. Amabill transferred her share to John FitzThomas, afterwards Earl of Kildare, upon conditions not shown fully in the Red Book. Thus he became lord of her share of the estates in Connaught and Ulster and Munster, as well as of what he inherited from his father, which we know included the Banada part of Leyny. Juliana had married Thomas de Clare before 1275.<sup>1</sup>

John FitzThomas's Connaught possessions thus acquired were one-half Conmaicne Cuile, one-half Carbury, including Sligo, one-third Corran, one-half Aidhne. The other parts of these may have gone to Juliana, but I find only the reference already quoted to inheritance by Margaret de Badelesmere, her granddaughter, and to the half share in the advowson of Ardahan in Inquisition C. This partition had great consequences. John FitzThomas, immediately after his accession as lord of Offaley, interfered with the O'Connor succession in Moy Ai, and so came into collision with the Earl, who naturally looked upon the O'Conors as within his sphere of influence. Those confused proceedings appear in the Annals of Loch Cé, 1288-1294. The quarrel culminated in the seizure of the Earl by John FitzThomas. The success was dearly paid for. When the Earl was released, John was bound, as price of forgiveness, to surrender to the Earl 120 librates of land in Connaught as compensation, and all his lands in those parts and in the County of Louth, receiving for the residue, over and above the 120 librates, an equal value of the Earl's lands in other parts. According to his petition to the King in 1301, John complained that the valuers did not value fairly, but gave the Earl possession of all John's lands, and gave John nothing instead;<sup>2</sup> upon which the king called for the record. The matter seems to have been settled privately, for the Red Book, p. 271, shows: "A release and pardon, from the Lord Bourk to the lord John FitzThomas, of all injuries done to him and of all such lands as the said John his ancestors had in Conaghte. Drogheda, 10 June, 30 Edw. I." (= 1302). This says nothing of the Louth lands. It seems most probable that John gave up all the Ulster and Louth lands, and was given back the Connaught lands, for there is no more interference by Geraldines in Ulster. The Earl seems to have bought from him some of his Connaught lands after this, as the Earl built the castle of Sligo in 1310. And Sir William seems to have acquired other portions, so that John FitzThomas disappeared completely as a Connaught lord. Ballymote Castle and Sligo Castle, as improved, formed two very strong points for the protection of Connaught on the north-eastern border. A full reconciliation no doubt followed in 1312, when John's son Thomas married Richard's daughter Joan.

The fees of Aidhne and Luighne, of which Maurice FitzGerald was enfeoffed, would not have given his descendants undue weight in Connaught, but his acquisition of other grants gave them so great a territory

<sup>1</sup> D. I. iii., No. 1142.

<sup>2</sup> D. I. iv., No. 835, 843.



in North Connaught that they were tempted to interfere in the O'Conor quarrels, which their chief lord was accustomed to settle.

It seems a strange statement, but I think it is a fact that the Norman settlers disappeared from Thomond because Maurice FitzGerald acquired too much land in Connaught. The following account of Thomond affairs is taken mainly from Mr. Westropp's "Normans in Thomond" (*Journal*, vol. xxi., p. 284). Thomas de Clare settled in Tradree in 1274, having married Juliana in that year or earlier. Next year he and FitzGerald and Butlers drove out Torlogh O'Brien, King of Thomond, and set up Brian Roe. Torlogh returned from Galway with de Burgos and O'Maddens and O'Kellys, and beat Brian Roe, who was murdered by his ally de Clare. In 1278 Torlogh was driven out, but returned next year, when a partition with Brian Roe's son Donough was arranged. In 1280 de Clare came from the South with Geraldine help, and William de Burgo came from Galway with Butler help. Earl Richard, who had been put in possession of his estates in 1279, and arranged partition, ordered that Torlogh be confirmed in possession of East Thomond, and that hostages be given to de Clare. The reason of his giving hostages to Thomas de Clare is that Torlogh held 7 cantreds and 16 vills in Thomond under the manor of Bunratty at a rent of 182 mks., 4s. 4d.<sup>1</sup>

Friendship existed between de Burgos and O'Briens since William de Burgo married Donnell More's daughter. These O'Briens were Richard's cousins, and he had no interest in making a very strong king of the Irish. Sir William's wife was a daughter of Brian Roe. From all de Burgo points of view the partition was a satisfactory settlement.

As Thomas de Clare was a son-in-law of Sir Maurice FitzMaurice, and was now likely to acquire half of his great estates in Connaught, and Munster and Ulster, in right of his wife, it became a real de Burgo interest to support Torlogh against the race of Brian Roe, and not allow the king of the Irish to be a nominee of de Clare. Mr. Westropp calls Emelina de Lungespee wife of Maurice of Desmond,<sup>2</sup> but her husband was certainly Maurice, Baron of Offaley. In 1287, Thos. de Clare was again at war with Torlogh, who killed him and his ally Gerald FitzMaurice, and invaded Munster, whence the Earl got him to retreat. It was no interest of the Earl to destroy Tradree and the English, his ally having been established as King of the Irish.

If these wars had been only a fight for Tradree on the de Clare side, depending on Brian Roe's confirmation of the English grant, this defeat should have brought the de Clare power to an end. In fact, Gilbert succeeded peacefully when he came of age. During his minority there was no one to take up the cause of Brian Roe's sons, and so King Torlogh had peace.

The FitzGerald interference in the O'Conor successions from 1288

<sup>1</sup> D. I. ii., No. 459.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal*, vol. xx., p. 286; but see vol. xxiv., pp. 188, 291.

to 1294 looks like an attempt to acquire a footing in Connaught Irish affairs, to compensate for the complete loss of influence over the Irish of Thomond.

Gilbert de Clare was given possession of his estates in 1303, and was succeeded in 1308 by his brother Richard. In 1309 Brian Roe's grandson Dermot rose against Torlogh's son Donough, who succeeded Torlogh in 1306, and was supported by Richard and his Munster English. The de Burgo power under Sir William was for Donough. After indecisive fighting, Richard and Dermot were defeated in 1311, but Sir William was taken prisoner. The Earl again personally intervened, and renewed the partition. Continuous fighting ensued over this partition, which ended in the defeat and death of Richard de Clare in 1318. His ally Brian Bane O'Brien was expelled from Thomond, and settled in Ara across the Shannon, where the chief of his descendants was known afterwards as Mac I Brien Ara.

The daughters who shared Richard's estate were, with their husbands, absentees. The cantred of Tradree was left without a lord to give the English settlers effective defence, and so the English tenants disappeared, and the land became purely Irish after 1338. But for the de Clare interference in the O'Brien quarrels, they might have held in peace and increased in strength yearly, and but for the FitzGerald alliance, might never have come into serious collision with the great Earl, whose power predominated over Connaught and Ulster, and was very great in Thomond and Munster. None could safely come into collision with him or his grandsons. This great power gave to his part of Connaught and to Ulster a degree of peace which enabled the colonists everywhere to establish themselves well. The Annals show that raids upon the English of Connaught became fewer and fewer, very little fighting among the English, and that from the acquisition of the earldom and the coming of age of Earl Richard, there was an irresistible power able and willing to enforce peace in his domain. It may be said that there was a steady progress throughout the century, and that the peace would have been general in Connaught if the King had restrained the O'Conors and kept the peace among them, as he could have done easily. The lord of Connaught steadily beat them down, but, having no right over Moylurg and Moy Ai and Trituatha, he could not build castles to restrain their turbulence.

A remarkable feature is the willingness of the Irish to accept government. The O'Kellys, O'Maddens, O'Heynes, O'Shaughnessys, O'Flahertys, O'Dowdas, were generally quiet. The minor chieftains, lords of Tuaths, like Mac Neills of Carra and O'Malleys of Umall, gave no trouble at all. This is intelligible. They were protected from raids as they were never protected before, were relieved of the uncertain exactions of the kings above them, and were at most required to pay a rent. At the time of the Conquest the old nobility had been, and were being, put down a step lower in rank over a wide extent of country, because the

descendants of Torlogh Mor and of Ruaidhri O'Connor were being given hereditary estates, as Brian Luighnech in Carbury, Cathal Carrach and Conor Moenmoy in Ui Maine, Clan Murtough and Clan Manus in Clan Cuain and Umall, the sons of Ruaidhri in Carra, a Sil Torlogh growing over the old tribes as the Silmurray had grown before. Thus such minor lords and kings were in rather a better position under the new lord than they would have been under O'Connor domination. The object of the Norman lords was not to oust them, but to get submission and rent.

The entries in the *Annals of Loch Cé* for the years 1245 and 1247 seem to mark a decisive defeat of Mac Costello. It seems to have been temporary, or, in face of fresh efforts on the part of the de Angulo lord of the Navan, to have been followed by a submission and agreement, de Angulo made willing to accept less, and Mag Raghnaill to give more, as a consequence of the warfare, and the negotiations arising from the demands of the new and the old lords. For, in 1551, Thomas Nangle, baron of the Navan, complained to the Council that Mag Raghnaill refused to pay him 100 kine yearly with a knight's fees, due to his ancestors out of the country of Muintir Eolais; Mag Raghnaill denied that such duties had ever been paid, and the Council awarded £6 yearly to the baron, with the consent of both parties.<sup>1</sup> The Council must have seen some foundation for the claim, though the rent had not been paid for some 200 years perhaps. The Nangle claim was based on a grant made by Walter de Lacy to Philip de Angulo, between November, 1220, and July, 1221,<sup>2</sup> of a tract comprising all the lands of the Conmaicne of Moyrein, and a good deal in the County Cavan.

Philip de la Rochelle complained in 1282<sup>3</sup> that the escheator let his Omany lands during his minority to Irish tenants at such low rents as did not amount to the rent of £125 due by him to the king.

Such arrangements must have been common all over the country. It depended on the power of the lord whether much or little or no rent was paid.

This account would be imperfect without an examination of the case of the descendants of William de Burgo, who was killed at Athanchip in 1270. It is remarkable that there is little or no evidence to show what land he held, or what lands or castles were held by his great son, Sir William Liath, who seems to have been Earl Richard's Governor of Connaught during his lifetime, and to have been succeeded in that position by his son Walter. They must have been given fees in Connaught by Earls Walter and Richard, and they or their sons certainly acquired fees from tenants in chief under the lord of Connaught; but this is a matter of inference from the estates held by Sir William's sons and William Og's grandsons. O'Donovan accepted the descent of the Mac Seonins and Mac Philpíns from Sir William, apparently from

<sup>1</sup> Morrin, *Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery, Ireland*, p. 259.

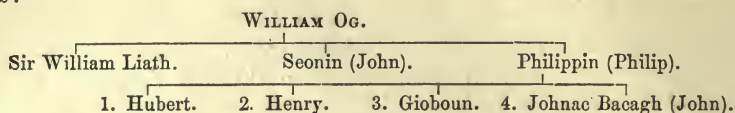
<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> D. I. ii., No. 1986.



O'Ferrall's Pedigrees as set out by Hardiman;<sup>1</sup> and I followed him in my account of the de Burgo clans of Galway.<sup>2</sup>

Though the pedigrees of O'Clery are in many respects wrong regarding the Normans of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries before they became Hibernian, it seems to me now on the whole that his account of the sons of William Og and of their descendants is, as regards these clans, better supported by the Inquisitions and the Annals.<sup>3</sup> It runs thus:—



From Seonin came Mac Seonin.

From Hubert came the Sliocht Hoiberd na Cille, whom I cannot trace.

From Henry came the Clann Maoilir of the Neale and the Sliocht MicTeaboid.

From Gioboun the Clann Gioboun.

From Johnac's son Hubert the Clann Philpin.

Substituting William Og for William Liath as the common ancestor in O'Farrell's pedigree, the genealogies agree fairly well. O'Farrell ignores the clans descended from Henry. O'Clery ignores those of the same name in Umall.

John de Burgo is mentioned in 1290, who may be William Og's son, as the name was not yet common in the family.<sup>4</sup> O'Farrell gives a John, son of Seonin, as first Mac Seonin. A Seonin was killed in 1342 (L. C.)

William and his wife Matilda are mentioned in 1293,<sup>5</sup> and Henry, son of William, had pardon in 1304, on account of his good services in Scotland, at instance of Earl Richard.<sup>6</sup> It is the first instance of the name in this family.

Gilbert and Hubert were taken prisoners with Earl Richard in 1317. A Gilbert is mentioned in 1335.<sup>7</sup> Hubert, son of Gilbert, was a juror of Inquisition B. Heirs of John and heirs of Philip and a William had land near Loughrea, and William of Owyl had land in Umhall. Three Richards were jurors. The heir of a Richard is mentioned. These names show the opportunities for confusion, and the necessity of definite indications.

It is remarkable that the Inquisitions do not definitely name any son of Sir William. Possibly Richard le Hore may be a son, who took the name le Hore as a kind of surname, equivalent to Liath, or le Hore, his

<sup>1</sup> H. W. C. 242.

<sup>2</sup> "Galway Archaeological and Historical Society," vol. i., p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, vol. xvii., p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> D. I. iii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> D. I. v., No. 330.

<sup>7</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edw. III.

father's description. The heirs of William, who held a large property near Loughrea, were probably his sons, but that is all that can be said of the greatest family in Connaught.

In the sixteenth century the Mac Seonins occupied a large tract in the east of the barony of Kilmaine. Some of their castles were on lands belonging to the Archbishop of Tuam, and others on land held from the Bourkes, but they, and the Mac Meylers, and the Mac Tibbots, and some Bourkes, were freeholders to the extent of 66 qrs. The Mac Meylers had the castle of the Neale and land about it, and the Mac Tibbots had the castle of Creevagh and land about it, in Kilmolara parish. These occupied contiguous estates, which adjoined that of Clann Seonin. It seems as if William Og had taken up these tracts, and had divided them between his sons John and Philip.

These Mac Meylers and Mac Tibbots may be the same as those of Umall, but I think not, because these Mac Meylers are described as of the Neale, and the other Mac Meylers and Mac Tibbots seem to be branches from Clan Philpin.

Mac Philpin's lands, in the sixteenth century, were in the southern part of Burrishoole barony, where he had Doon Castle, and another Mac Philpin had the castle at Aille. Mac Philpin had to pay Mac William 15s. on 3 qrs. in Dromrany, which is an old name for Aglish Parish. He had the "Newcastle by Castlebar" in 1574, and this I take to be an original seat of the family, as O'Clery calls them "Clann Philpin of Castlebar,"<sup>1</sup> and the castle of Bellabourke, in Carra (Division of Connaught and Thomond). John de Burgo, who held four villis in Umall in 1333, would do, in point of time, for Johnac Bacagh. The William of Umall is likely to be a brother. Dabac Dilmain, son of Ulick of Umhall, head of the kerne, and Theobald, son of Ulick, head of the kerne, seem to be his sons.<sup>2</sup> Theobald suits for an ancestor of Mac Tibbot of Moyour. The castle of Moyour is now called Castleaffy. If Myntroghyn be a combination of Moyna, or Money, neighbouring townlands, with Treathain, a "strand or sea," the word describes the castle's position. The Mac Meylers are called of Kilmaclasser.<sup>3</sup>

The Clangibbon were a very large family, but inhabited chiefly the Archbishop's lands, and some lands under the O'Malleys. In the lands of Clan Philpin and Sliocht Mic Tibbot they owned the Castle of Ballyknock, called on the map Bawn Castle, in Westport House demesne. One Mac Gibbon occupied a castle at Ballymacgibbon, which was Archbishop's land, and another a castle at Ballyeogevan, which I do not identify, both in Kilmaine barony (Division of Connaught and Thomond.) The dwellings of the Clangibbon are given in the Calendars of Fiants of Queen Elizabeth.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, vol. xvii., p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> L. C. 1351, 1377.

<sup>3</sup> 16 D. K., 5173.

<sup>4</sup> 15 D. K., 4583, 4586, 4844; 16 D. K., 5075, 5797.

Lord Ormond's estate of 40 qrs.; the Archbishop's, 38 qrs.; Abbeylands, 4 qrs.; Clanphilpin, 24 qrs.; Sliocht Mic Tibbot, 16 qrs.; and 3 denominations each of 2 qrs., made the whole barony of Burrishoole, in which the last five items amount to 46 qrs. MacWilliam had a rent of 3s. 4d. a quarter from Mac Philpin out of 6 qrs., and out of 40 other quarters occupied by Mac Walterboy and Mac Hugoboy (M'Kaageboy or M'Cawoke) and the Clandonnells and the Bourkes. The Clandonnells were but one family of gallowglasses. "The Bourkes" must mean the clans descended from Philip. One of the small denominations is Money. I do not know the descent of MacWalter and Mac Hugo, but suppose them to have been of this race.

These 46 qrs., 11 towns and 2 qrs., are so close to the amount of 12 towns held by the de Burgos and Lawless that they must be the same properties. In both cases town and quarter meant the quantity of land amounting to a certain value within an area. My inferences are that the descendants of John and William acquired the Lawless estate, and that Sir Edmond Albanagh or his son acquired the Earl's heir's interest, perhaps by temporary lease called a farm, which was made a property by subsequent neglect to pay any rent, and ignoring the chief lord's title.

Mac Firbis's statement that Sir William possessed Firthire after de Cogan, and that Edmond Albanagh had it afterwards, seems correct in substance. Sir William probably took it up from the de Cogan heir in some such transaction as I suggest in regard to Burrishoole.

The arrangements between Earl Richard and John FitzThomas account for a transfer of the Lough Mask estate to Sir William, which seems to have taken place, and from him it seems to have passed to his son Edmond, in whose possession it is next found. Sir Walter is described as of the diocese of Annaghdown. Ulick of Annaghkeen and his son Richard were connected with Galway. There is distinct evidence of transfer of half the Geraldine estate in Aidhne to the Earl of Ulster in the note in Inq. C., that the advowson of the church of Ardahan belonged to him and to the heirs of Richard de Clare alternately. But the land seems to have been let out again for knight service, as it does not appear in the Inquisitions.

The descendants of Redmond and Hubert, sons of Earl Walter, had large estates along the south-eastern border of Aidhne, from Isertkelly to Kilbeacanty and Kiltartan. Thus they seem to have been provided for in fees held under the FitzGerald's at first. For these seem to have been the lands formerly held by the O'Clerys, and part of those held by the O'Cahills in the eastern part of Kinelea, whereof the greatest part was left in the hands of O'Shaughnessy, the head chief of that division of the Ui Fiachrach. I cannot make out anything more definite regarding the occupation of this part of Aidhne.

The FitzGerald estate of Sligo seems to have been taken over by the



Earl, because the manor and the three cantreds had been worth £333 a year, which would not have arisen from rents reserved at the original infeudation.

The Staunton grant of Carra seems to have been taken over by Sir William or his sons, as well as the whole of the Earl's rights over Tirawly. In the barony of Clare, in Galway, MacWilliam seems to have acquired the same superior right, as nearly all that barony was held in freehold, and so was nearly all that of Leitrim. In Kiltartan the opposite case is found. O'Shaughnessy had the bulk of it free of MacWilliam's rent. I infer that O'Shaughnessy had a very large estate in fee in Aidhne from FitzGerald, held by Knight service, or if under rent, that MacWilliam did not acquire a superior title from the Earl's tenant or heir; that O'Shaughnessy remained in the same position as O'Malley and Butler in Umall.

I have gone at length into these matters, because they seem necessary to explain the growth of authority and power of Sir William and his sons after him during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and, taken with other circumstances, show that the usual statement, that Sir Ulick of Annaghkeen and Sir Edmond Albanagh seized Elizabeth de Burgo's Connaught estate, and divided it between them, is incorrect. The offences charged against Sir Edmond and his brother Reymond were that they adhered to certain rebels and opponents of the king; the king did not treat them as principals in rebellion; that adherence was before August 1338.<sup>1</sup> So far were they from being rebels, that Reymond, in 1340, brought a party of men at arms and hobelers to join the king's army in France, where after his service he sold thirteen horses to the king for £80, getting £24 for Grissel de Borton, £13 6s. 8d. for Ferrant Makgibbyn, but only £1 for Bayard Stekes.<sup>2</sup> As the king was bound to carry him and his horses back to Ireland, it may be assumed that Reymond made a satisfactory deal with the Remount Department. He and Edmond were asked to come to help the king in the war against France in 1347.

The Inquisitions show the immediate loss of income caused by the disorder arising on the removal of the Earl's strong hand, and that the rent of £200, at which Sir Edmond, Earl Richard's son, had a lease of Connaught, was not inadequate. The absentee lords of large fees were no more able to enforce their rights against the de Burgos, who had spread over Connaught, and who were already the resident lords of great tracts, than was the king. It is unnecessary to suppose a repudiation of legal liabilities. The de Clare heiresses and other absentees could not collect rents if they were not voluntarily paid when the Earl's courts had disappeared and the king's courts were powerless. It would not have been

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Pat., Edw. III., vol. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. Close Rolls, Edw. III., vol. v., p. 397, 547.

easy for tenants to pay rents regularly in the turmoil of the years after 1333, and we know that matters became worse and worse. Just as the English townsmen and farmers left the country because their position was intolerable when they no longer had the protection of the Earl's power and recourse to his courts, so his chief tenants, not being resident lords, found it impossible to maintain their rights by their own power. We can understand that they would be ready to transfer their estates to de Burgos on very easy terms. After Sir Edmond's murder, the king's escheator and the Duke of Clarence would be in much the same difficulty; and they would, no doubt, be willing to give temporary leases, called farms, of the Countess's cantreds to Sir Edmond for such rent as he might offer, and they were probably obliged to accept excuses instead of cash whenever Sir Edmond felt that justice to himself forbade him to offer the better payment. The same remark applies to Ulick and his son Richard. Such a lease would explain the array of the O'Conors of Sligo usually on the same side as MacWilliam of Clanricard from the middle of the fourteenth century, and the claim made by the Earl of Clanricard, admitted by O'Connor Sligo, before Sir Henry Sidney, in 1567.<sup>1</sup> It would be followed by an arrangement between them. O'Connor Sligo's only doubt was who was his lawful chief lord. O'Donnell was not legally so; the Earl of Kildare's ancestor had parted with his right.

It seems to me that the alleged partition was effected in some such way, by taking leases, Edmond in the north, Ulick and his son Richard in the south. The arrangements, whatever they were, had as their real basis the successful violence and crime of the de Burgos.

Thus we understand too why so many lords of territories paid no rent to either MacWilliam, and were only general adherents in time of war, de Exeter, de Angulo, Prendergast, Bermingham, Butler, among the English; O'Malley, O'Flaherty, O'Kelly, O'Madden, O'Shaughnessy, among the Irish. The Clanwilliam had no desire to come into collision with more than they could help. These lords dealt with their chief lord, and made their own arrangements in the same way. When, to secure their position, the Connaught lords adopted Irish customs, the breach was complete.

After 1347, Sir Edmund became a rebel, but I cannot make out any particular act of rebellion, unless it was the war of 1349 (L.C.), against Richard, son of Earl Richard's son Edmund, and the Clanricard, whom he defeated. That he was so considered appears from the following extract from the Inquisition taken on the death of Lionel, Duke of Clarence:—"The Duke held of the King in chief by the courtesy of England, in right of his wife, the manors of Loghreagh, Tobryd, Tyloghoban, Loghmeske, Slygaghe, Galvy, Portdempne, in Connaght, by

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, vol. xii., p. 23.

the service of twenty knights' fees when scutage befalls, and they were worth when the said Duke should be in Ireland £200, but now nothing because they are occupied by Edmund de Burgo, Knight, and many rebels of the king, both English and Irish; nor has any minister of the king dared to go there to execute his office."<sup>1</sup>

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The following abbreviations are used in references:—

- H. F. = O'Donovan, "Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach."
- H. M. =        "      "      " Tribes and Customs of Hy Many."
- H. W. C. = Hardiman's edition of O'Flaherty's "West Connaught."
- D. I. = Sweetman, "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland," 1172–1307.
- D. K. = "Annual Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Ireland," Calendar of Fiants.
- R. B. = "Red Book of Earl of Kildare," in Hist. MSS. Commission, 9th Report, Appendix.
- L. C. = "Annals of Loch Cé" (Rolls Series).
- F. M. =        "      "      the Four Masters" (O'Donovan's edition).
- O. S. L. = Ordnance Survey Letters.

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<sup>1</sup> Chancery Inq. P. M., in Public Record Office, London.

*(To be continued.)*



## Miscellanea.

**Kiltevenan, County Roscommon** (vol. xxxii., pp. 194, 408).—Is it certain that this estate was in the County Roscommon, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? The documents quoted do not say so. The deed of 1190–1200 shows that Roger de Wiricestria held land about Kiltevenan then, and the next shows that by 1226 the abbey was able to deal with the church. It is not likely that any Englishman was so well established in an estate on the west of the Shannon as to be able to make such a grant until after 1200. If the abbey had but one Irish estate, I would seek it in the neighbourhood of Fethard, which is mentioned in the fourth deed. Can Kiltevenan be represented in Kiltinan Castle to the south of Fethard? Is Wiricestria a form of Worcester, which is at this time represented in some cases at least by Wigornia? I believe there is in England a place called Wroxeter. If Mr. Macray can answer the first and last questions, there will be a better chance of tracing the Countess.—H. T. Knox, *Fellow*.

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**Irish Wills and Administrations from the Registers at York prior to 1660.**—Brayman, John, Nurye in Ireland, October 21, 1597.

Proved July 10, 1599. (Reg. Test. xxvii. 629.)

Chambers, John, Dublin, gent., Aug. 14, 1597. Proved Oct. 20, 1597. (*Ibid.* xxvii. 37.)

Cockman, Francis, St. Patrick's, Dublin, clerk (Halifax), Feb. 19, 1645. (Bundle, Nov. 1647–8.)

Hoopes, Robert, Belhinche, County Armagh, Ireland, yeoman, Nov. 16, 1622. Proved June 14, 1627. (Reg. Test. xxxix. 192.)

Marshall, Thomas, Crelesse Castle, Ireland, administration of his estate granted Aug. 9, 1625. (Cleveland Act Book.)

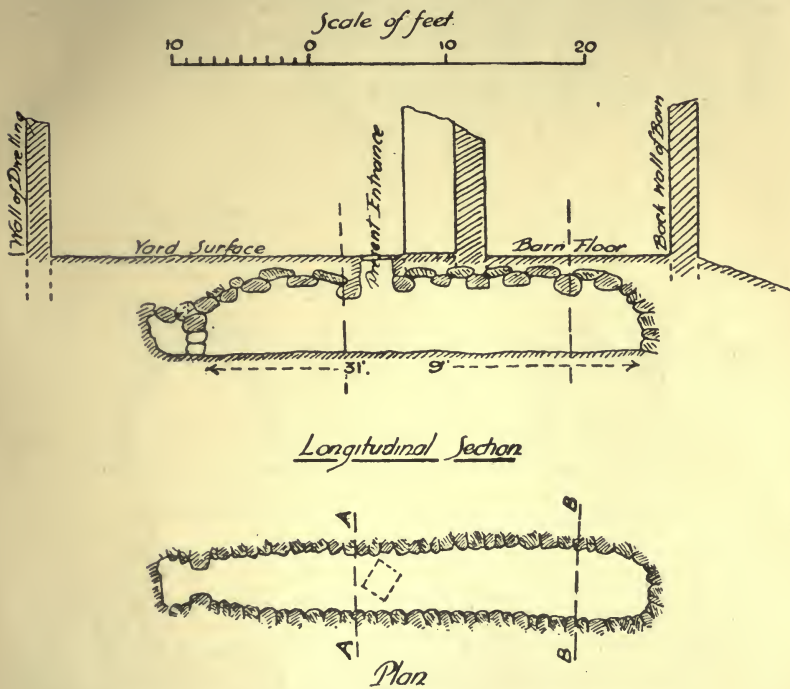
Mason, Robert, Eniskeene (Ireland), M.A., Aug. 9, 1639. (Bundle July, 1641–2.)

Scott, Sir Richard, Dublin, Knight, April 6, 1638, codicil July 16, 1638. (Bundle July, 1641–2.)

Seniohus, John, Tanderkey (? Tanderagee), County Armagh, Esq. (bur. Newark-upon-Trent), dated Dec. 12, 1643. (Bundle Jan. 1643–4.) In the Act Book, John Seniohus is described as of Tankersley or Tanderkey, dioc. of York.

Stonehouse, Alleson, Bellehinche, parish Kilmore, County Armagh, Ireland, Nov. 11, 1623. Proved May 22, 1624. (Reg. Test. xxxviii. 116.)—WILLIAM BROWN, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec., Yorkshire Archæological Society.*

**Subterranean Chamber at Ballywillan, County Derry.**—On Wednesday, the 16th May last, a very interesting discovery was made near the dwelling-house of Mr. Joseph Dugan, of Ballywillan, near Castlerock, County Derry. While sinking a hole for a block of wood on

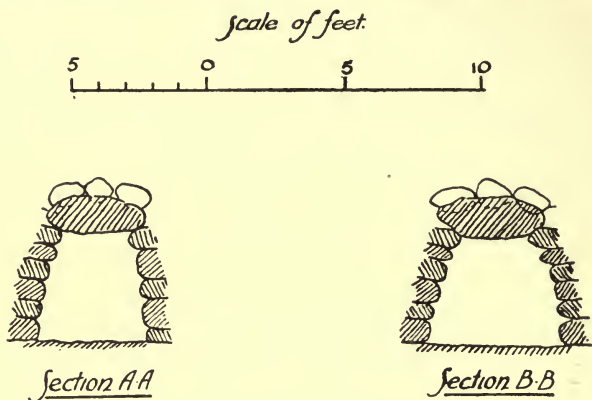


PLAN AND LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE SOUTERRAIN.

(By Mr. S. K. Kirker.)

the line of the door of Mr. Dugan's car-house, the workman felt his crowbar slip from his hand into an opening underground. On examination he found that he had broken into a subterranean chamber of considerable size, and of apparently great antiquity. The house has been in possession of Mr. Dugan's family for about 200 years, but nothing has ever been known of the existence of such a chamber. On visiting the place and making a careful examination of all the accessible part of the chamber, I found that the proprietor of the premises had

constructed a very neat trap-door, giving access to the passage below. I descended this by means of a ladder, and found myself in an apartment which appeared to be a passage between some underground buildings with the two ends blocked up with *débris* of stones and earth. The length, so far as I could penetrate, was about 40 feet, the height varying from about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet, the width from 3 ft. 3 in. to 4 ft. 3 in. The sides were built of large boulder-stones, some of them marked with deep striæ. The interstices between these were filled with smaller stones, many of them waterworn. The sides tapered gradually to the centre, which was roofed in with very large stones; some of them appear to be not far from half a ton in weight. There was no sign of quarrying visible upon them; but they were of an elongated shape that I have not often seen in natural boulders. The work was very rough, and the passage irregular in shape; but it had evidently been constructed with



TRANSVERSE SECTIONS OF THE SOUTERRAIN.

(By Mr. S. K. Kirker.)

great labour, and seemed very strong. The distance of the roof below the surface of the ground was, I should think, between two and three feet. The floor was of earth with apparently a rough paving of stones below. It had been trampled a good deal before I saw it; and the only matters of interest that had then been discovered in the passage were:—

1. A considerable number of shells of limpets and whelks, in a small heap on the floor.
2. Some pieces of bone, among the rest what seemed to be a portion of the skull of some animal, possibly a sheep.
3. Beside the bones, a coarsely made knife of chipped flint.
4. A small irregularly-shaped piece of peat.
5. A mass of some dark-coloured substance, which seemed to have been burnt, but which, on drying in the air, turned to a distinctly granulated substance of a grey colour.



Mr. Dugan, who takes an interest in antiquarian matters, is of opinion that the apartment examined is only a part of some extensive underground buildings. He informs me that he intends making further excavations later on in the year. It is quite possible that these may lead to some very interesting discoveries; meantime the place is to the antiquarian well worth a visit; and the owner of the premises will be very happy to give any member of the Society, or any other visitor interested in Irish antiquities, every facility for examining the curious structure which has been brought to light, after lying hidden for perhaps many centuries. As the passage is quite dark, I found a good acetylene bicycle lamp a very useful aid to investigation.—T. G. HOUSTON, *Fellow*.

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**Bullaun-Stone, Glen of Aherlow, County Tipperary.**—This stone lies by the roadside about a mile east of Aherlow Post Office. It is conglomerate, circular, 3 feet in diameter, and has six deep indentations, and it is, I believe, a remarkable stone. Tradition states that the hollows were formed by the knees of three saints who constantly prayed there, but it seems more probable that three housewives of the Stone Age caused them by constantly pounding corn; this implies a certain civilization, and ability to till the land.—DENIS HANAN, D.D.

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**Ancient Ecclesiastical Bells in Ulster.**—Referring to Mr. Milligan's interesting Paper on the above subject (*supra*, p. 46), I send an extract from an old manuscript book of my grandfather's, relating to a Bell at Moira. It would be interesting to know if this bell is still in existence.—MORGAN JELLETT M'WATERS.

"Having lately, and for the first time, travelled on the railroad from Belfast to Lurgan, I observed that the Moira station was placed at Lady's Bridge. This brought to my recollection a rather curious fact of the reason this bridge has been so called, inasmuch as it records an evidence of the great tenacity with which the old Irish families, who possessed estates ere their forfeiture by rebellion, retain and preserve their old titles thereto, in the hope of their future restoration.

"Somewhere about eighty years ago one of those ancient hand-bells used in Roman Catholic chapels was found in an old Danish fort, on the lands of Marahinch, near Moira, and Mr. Bateman, the then holder of that property, gave the same to the Earl of Moira, who then resided at Moira. When the late Marquis of Hastings sold his father's Moira estate, his sister, Lady Granard, had this bell removed with other interesting family heirlooms to Granard. Some twenty-five years ago a Roman Catholic chapel was built in the parish of Moira, on which occasion the then priest, Father Jennings, applied to Lady Granard, requesting the restoration of the bell, to enrich the new chapel by so curious a relic. In consequence, the request was transmitted to the

Marquis of Hastings, then in India, his reply to which was that the bell should be given for the purpose required, provided that the proper representatives of the O'Lavery family, who before the Revolution possessed the Moira estate, should join in the request. In consequence, a very strict investigation by the Rev. Mr. Doubourdieu and myself, who were appointed by Lady Granard for that purpose, was made among the various branches of that old family, when one of them, a female, who lived near this same Canal Bridge, produced to us an old parchment deed, written in Latin and signed by 'Tyrone,' granting to Phelim or Patrick O'Lavery that estate. She signing the priest's memorial, the bell was duly handed over to Father Jennings, and so remains. And this female was ever after denominated 'Lady Lavery,' and the Canal Bridge from thence called Lady's Bridge (MORGAN JELLETT, 1 January, 1842)."

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In reference to the bell and shrine of St. Mura, I have ascertained, from the article on this bell in vol. i. of the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (1853), that there was not a separate shrine or cover made for this bell, but that the ornamentation was attached to the bell itself.

In reference to the note headed "Lady Lavery," I was anxious to know if this bell was still in the hands of the Parish Priest of Magheralin, near Moira. I also spoke to Father O'Lavery about it, and he says he made inquiries twenty-five years ago in reference to this bell, the *Clog Ruadh*, and no one knew anything of it. Father O'Lavery's idea, with which I agree, is that, notwithstanding the statement above, the transfer of the bell to Father Jennings never took place.

On this point the Rev. John Quail, P.P., Magheralin, writes as follows:—"It was a Father Jennings who built Kilwarlin chapel; the date on it is 1812. But neither in it nor in Magheralin is there any trace of a bell. Magheralin was built in 1843. I do not know of any person who had the *Clog Ruadh* in his possession. I will make some inquiries about it, and if I find any trace of it will be glad to let you know. I think there is no evidence that Father Jennings ever possessed the bell."—S. F. MILLIGAN.

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**Notes on Bouchier Castle and New Church, Loughgur.**—Opposite page 415, volume x., of the *Journal*, there are two drawings of Bouchier Castle, one taken from Dineley's Tour, and the other from G. V. Du Noyer, and, in a footnote, the following explanation:—"The castle and bridge shown in the foreground were built by the Bouchiers after the Desmond's fall."

In Fitz Gerald and Mac Gregor's "History of Limerick" I find the following notice of the castle and church:—"This castle is supposed to have been built, in the reign of Elizabeth, by Sir George Bouchier, son of the second Earl of Bath, to whom, on the forfeiture of Desmond, it

was granted. It came afterwards into the possession of the Countess of Bath, who built a very handsome chapel-of-ease, called the New Church, on the south side of the lake. She also granted an endowment of £20 a year."

As all subsequent writers on this district follow these statements, it is time that their inaccuracy should be put on record. This church, or chapel-of-ease, is, if not of earlier date, at least coeval with the Desmond stronghold on the island opposite, as the photograph will show. It was, without doubt, Desmond's "Chapel-of-ease." There are many examples

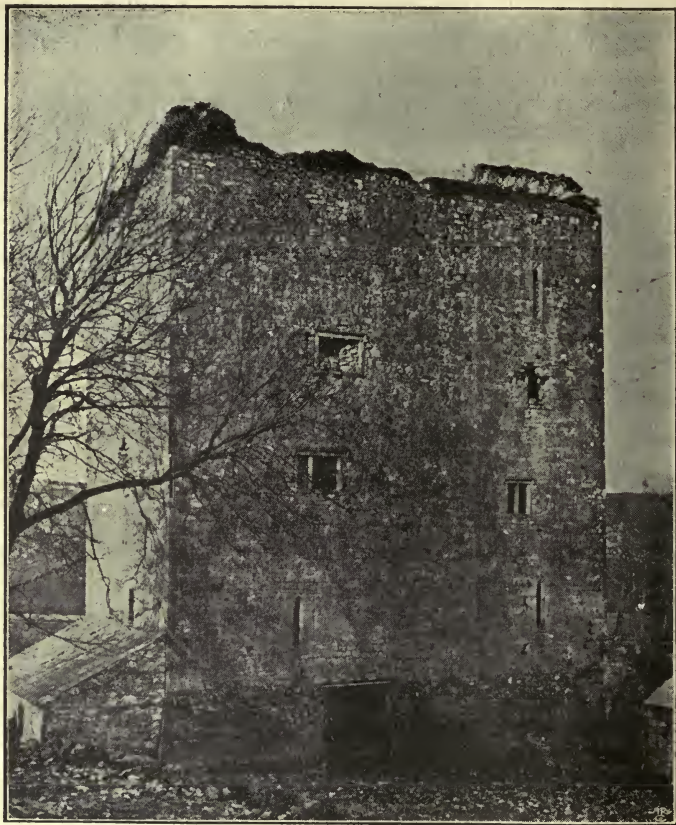


NEW CHURCH, LOUGHGUR.

of chapels of the same kind attached to castles in this part of the County Limerick. They are generally found close to the castle when the latter is not near the parish church. In and around this little church the old families of the district have their burial-places, including an ancient family of Fitz Gerald, who claim to have been resident in the district, from father to son, since Desmond's fall. This chapel, no doubt, was in a ruinous state after 1642, and was restored, on the accession of Charles II., by Rachel, Countess of Bath, who added the belfry on the west gable. As it was now for the first time used for the Reformed worship, it got the name of the new church, and it still retains that name.



Bourchier Castle, properly Castledoon, was erected on the site of an older fortification, which guarded the natural and only passage into the island of Knockadoon. That this was the only access to the island is certain before the building of the great causeway across the lake—144 yards in length—at its south side, by an Earl of Desmond. Here the lake was at its narrowest, and was fordable, to judge from that



BOURCHIER CASTLE, LOUGHGUR.

portion between the two castles, which was drained many years ago, and is now a cutaway bog, and over the level of the present lake.

Castledoon is an oblong structure of the fifteenth century, and is built, like many castles of the period, in two sections, but on the same foundations, which have a considerable batter for about five feet over the surface. The portion of the castle containing the doorway and staircase, about one-third of the whole structure, springs clear and independent

from the foundation, with quoin stones at the four angles. These quoins are, at intervals, bonded into the rest of the structure (see photo), and the interior walls are bonded by thorough stones where possible.

All the storeys have grouted, arched floors. The stairs, as is usual, wind from right to left, to allow the defender the free use of his sword-arm. I know but one castle in this locality where the stairs wind from left to right, and that is Glenogra Castle (built by the De Lacys), where the tower is octagonal. Why were these keeps of the fifteenth century built in this way?

I presume that as these towers contained the only means of access to the upper chambers and battlements, and could be easily defended, that they were the last resource for the garrison when the main building was taken by assault. On account of the thickness of the interior wall and the grouted floors, no breach could be made from the ground floor of the main keep. It is possible they were also a refuge from fire, as the fire-places are invariably in the main building; and the tower being quite independent of the rest of the structure, and a storey higher than it, would be likely to escape when the rest of the structure was destroyed.

It is possible that the bridge shown in Dineley's sketch was built by the Countess of Bath, and also the addition to the castle, which is shown by Dineley. It is probable that, on the erection of the castle, the lake was deepened and narrowed under its walls into a moat, with the usual drawbridge, thus affording greater protection. On the building of the modern addition to the castle, as shown in Dineley's sketch, the drawbridge became obsolete, and the causeway was made with the bridge and gate-house.—J. GRENE BARRY, *Hon. Secretary, East Limerick*.

**Eschlun, or Eschluona Church, near Limerick.**—Mr. T. J. Westropp, in his valuable Paper on Askeaton,<sup>1</sup> says that: "From other documents it appears that Askeaton (or rather Askelon) was Escloon or Escluana, a castle, church, cantred, and parish near Carrigogunnell, but not Kilkeedy"; and in a note states that although Bishop O'Dea's "Taxa: Procuracionum" of 1418 identifies Escloon as Kilkyde, the older records and the Taxation of 1291 give these churches in different parishes. I think Bishop O'Dea's Taxation is more likely to be correct, as I shall attempt to show.

The ancient name of the district in question was Eschluona or Escluana, and Carrigogunnell was the seat of its chief. There is no chapel-of-ease in connexion with this castle, as it adjoins the parish church of Kilkeedy. We have, therefore, here the castle, church, cantred, and parish of Escloon district.

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<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 27.



No doubt the church and parish were known by the territorial name before they received their ecclesiastical title in the middle of the twelfth century, St. Ceedy's church or Kilkeedy. And for several generations afterwards it is possible that the church and parish retained both names, and were sometimes known by the name of the territory, and again by its ecclesiastical name.

I find that in one set of Returns in the Papal Taxation of 1302-6, No. 715, the church of Escluen is mentioned, but Kilkeedy is omitted, and in Return No. 720 Kilkeedy is mentioned and Escluen omitted.

Early in the fifteenth century, when Brian dubh O'Brien made Carrigogunnell his residence and rebuilt the castle, the name of the territory Escluona gave place to the barony name of Pubblebrien. There is no other church or parish in the Deanery of Limerick to correspond with the description given of Escloon. I think, therefore, the evidence is strongly in favour of the accuracy of Bishop O'Dea's Taxation of the early fifteenth century, when this church and parish is mentioned as *Escloon* alias *Kilkyde*.

This district, between the river Maigue and Shannon, is of considerable antiquarian interest. There are strong grounds for stating that a colony of Norsemen settled in this district in the ninth century.

The Caoille, pronounced Keeley, are mentioned in Irish Records as raiding the Irish coasts in the ninth century. The "Four Masters" record, under the date 844, the plundering of Colooney, near Sligo, by the Caoille from their ships. In a note it is stated that the Caoille were a sept of Norsemen.

In a note under the year 1560 the district between the mouth of the river Maigue towards Limerick is called *Caoille am Chosnamha*.

From Carrigogunnell towards Limerick there is a continuous line of forts along the high ground over the Shannon. In fact, there is a circle of forts around Limerick, as they are also found on the Clare side of the river. In Tervoe Demesne there are several forts. When I first knew the district the old people knew the names of several of these "Danish forts," as they were called. There is one in the parish of Kilkeedy, called Liss Dermot-ui-Caoille or Caher-na-Caille, and two in Mungret parish, called Caherdavin and Cahercaoillegenerah, all within the present Demesne of Tervoe.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Caoille*. "*Lish-Dermot-Ikallie*" is mentioned in a perambulation of the bounds of South Liberties of Limerick made in 1609. The church or temple of *Keilmacailly* is named in Bishop O'Dea's Taxation as near the bridge of Claireena. A map in the British Museum, A.D. 1680, has *Tempulnacailly*, *Caherdavin*, and *Caher-killegennar* marked. The Down Survey gives *Cahernakilly*, *Caherdavin*, and *Caher-keillegeneragh*. "O'Keeley (Irish *O'Caolidh*), chief of *Tua Luimnidh*, or district about Limerick," O'Hart's "*Irish Pedigrees*"; and Lewis' "*Topographical Dictionary*," p. 72, states that a Danish chieftain built a castle and church in Kilcornan parish, near the fort of Moige (Castletown Waller). There is an ancient burial-ground known as Kilcornan, in the parish of Kilkeedy. Kiltemplan is a townland in the same parish, adjoining Kilcolman. Might this be Tempulkillie, the site of which cannot be located, near Clarina.



From their surroundings I think they were stone cahers, although most of the other forts in this district are earthen ramparts. Opposite Tervoe, on the Clare side of the Shannon, there is a fort called Caherdavin. That these forts were used by both the Danes of Limerick and the natives of the adjoining district for offence and defence I have no doubt. Near the Maigue, and in the parish of Kilkeedy, there were two ancient churches called Kilcolman and Tempul-na-Caoille, or Kill-na-Caoille. Now, how does this term Caoille come to be so common in this district unless the Caoille sept had a colony here? Mr. James Frost, in his "History of Clare," page 408, says in a note with reference to Ballymorris, which is on the banks of the Shannon opposite Carrigogunnell:—"In this townland is found a hill called in Irish Knockthurles, which means the hill of the fortress. It is situated in the vicinity of the Shannon, and it seems probable that it was a stronghold of the Danes. The name of the townland itself appears to be derived from one Maurice, a chieftain of the Danes of Limerick, whose name is mentioned by Keating."

The Danes of Limerick were Christians, and it is probable they colonized the districts along the Shannon. In these notes I venture to put forward the theory that the Carrigogunnell district was colonized by the Caoille, and that these ancient forts and churches perpetuate their name.—J. GRENE BARRY, *Hon. Secretary, East Limerick*.

**Eschlun or Eschluona Church, near Limerick.**—I am glad that the necessity for clearing away the "Askelon" entries from the records of Askeaton and my hesitation as to their identity have led one so well acquainted with the history and local topography as Mr. Grene Barry to discuss the question of the situation of Eschlun. But I wish he had been able to supply some definite evidence as to the identity of the Church sites, as he merely seems to prove that of the parishes or rather their early union. This, so far from denying, I believe to be the fact.

As may be seen by my note (p. 27, *supra*) I have obtained no decisive clue to the identity. The following early records bear on the subject. The charter of William de Burgo to Donat, Bishop of Limerick (1200–1207) mentions Lesnernamadda as in Estlona.<sup>1</sup> In the great survey of Meyler Fitz Henry and Bishop Donat, 1200–1201 (after giving Mungret and "Inbeolchimir"), the lands of Ballidorchun, Ballihibeur, or Ballihibebon, Rathen, Raencuam, and Ballyhichnam are "recognised as in Eschluona."<sup>2</sup> This is copied as "Meschluona recognitis" by Bishop Reeves, and so given in the text published by Sir John Gilbert in "Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland," vol. iii., Plate xxii., but it evidently reads in the facsimile "in Eschluona," and my reading has been confirmed by Mr. Mills, the Deputy Keeper of the Records in

<sup>1</sup> "Black Book of Limerick," p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Ireland, and Mr. Henry Berry. The 1291 Taxation gives Escluen, between Kilmurphy and Derrygalvin.<sup>1</sup> In 1315 there was a lawsuit of John le Blound, of Athlecagh, *versus* John de Kyngesham, about land at "Newton de Esclon."<sup>2</sup> In 1329 another lawsuit arose as to the Manor of Cros, Esclon, Morsheton, and other lands in County Limerick.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, the "Ecclesia Eschluona als Kylkyde, Rector est Prior de Athissill," occurs in the "Taxa: Procuracionum" (1418-1422)<sup>4</sup> of Bishop Cornelius O'Dea. If our Limerick antiquaries can from local knowledge identify Lisnernamadda, Ballidorchun, &c., they will establish the identity of Escluen on a sounder basis. Perhaps St. Margaret's church at Newtown may be the "Newton de Esclon" of the Plea Roll, and occupy the site of the older church of Escluen. The flimsy nature of the wooden churches still maintained in the thirteenth century is such that the complete disappearance of any such ecclesiastical structure excites little wonder. If, in the *certain* union of the parishes of Kilkeedy and Escluen, proved by the "Taxatio," Kilkeedy became the parish church, Escluen may well have disappeared. The term is so vague, extending perhaps over Mungret (Raheen?) to Derrygalvin, that the localization of the actual church site is one of much difficulty. The name in church matters, so far as my notes extend, disappears from the records after O'Dea's episcopacy. The last mention of the cantred is, I believe, in the 1377 Patent Roll.<sup>5</sup> The manor does not, to my knowledge, appear after 1243, when it was held by Richard de Burgo (along with Castroconigir and Wetheineire), and was valued at £37 11s. 6½d.<sup>6</sup>

To make my own position clear, I may add that I am satisfied that the *parish* of Escluen is now merged in the present Kilkeedy, but I do not regard the proofs as to the identity of the church sites as conclusive. The manor and cantred, doubtless, extended beyond the limits of the parish, and the site of the castle (if not Carrigogunnell, the name of which appears at 1223 in the "Escluen period," but, I think, never stated to be called Escluen) has yet to be fixed.—T. J. WESTROPP.

<sup>1</sup> C. S. P. I., vol. v.

<sup>2</sup> Plea Roll (Ireland), No. 113 of Ed. II., m. 4.

<sup>3</sup> "Repertorium Rotulis" (P. R. O. I., 3q. 154. 2), No. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Reeves' MSS. T.C.D., No. 1063.

<sup>5</sup> Calendar of Irish Chancery Rolls under year. <sup>6</sup> C. S. P. I., vol. i., No. 3137.

## Notices of Books.

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NOTE.—Those marked \* are by Members of the Society.

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\**Wakeman's Handbook of Irish Antiquities.* (Third edition.) By John Cooke, M.A. (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd., 1903.)

A LARGE class of persons to whom Petrie and Dunraven are "caviare" have been taught to claim a heritage in their country's past, and to form sound views on archæology by Wakeman's Handbook, which in a "third edition," now appears. We may hope that to many more this new edition may be a guide and help. The somewhat narrow range of buildings treated of by Wakeman has been extended, and an attempt to take an "all Ireland" standpoint has been made; the work, too, has been brought up to date. These two facts alone might have justified Mr. Cooke in claiming to be author rather than editor. He has, however, kept on the title page a name which carries with the public greater weight than many another of high honour among students of archæology.

It may seem late to say anything of the original author. William Frederick Wakeman has recently passed from among us, working to the last; but we cannot refrain from recalling how "young Wakeman" worked on the sketches made for the Ordnance Survey when he was about seventeen, under the eyes of Petrie, O'Donovan, and O'Curry. There were giants in those days, but they were needed, for it was, perhaps, the crisis of our national school of archæology. Field archæology was in its infancy; few of our ancient records had been published; the minds of students were poisoned with the absurd theories and unfounded deductions of men like Vallancey, Ledwich, Betham, and Henry O'Brien. An unreasoning section of the public followed these theorists for their very wildness, and savagely attacked the "fathers of modern archæology." In the first volume of our Society's *Journal* it was needful to demolish the authenticity of the inscription to Baal (really to E. Conid), and Papers justifying the lash of Scott and Dickens were read, published, and approved. The school which, amid much discouragement and unpopularity, stormed and overthrew these errors, found in Wakeman not only a helper, but an enthusiastic advocate; and he taught scores of beginners the more reliable and scientific methods by which alone true knowledge of the past can be won.

It is also a good quality in the new edition, that while broadening its



examples from the farthest ends of Ireland, it still brings to the front the idea that Dublin is not merely the capital of the island, but also the focus of its archæology. Not alone is the city in possession of the priceless collection of the Royal Irish Academy, and of the great libraries of that body, and of Trinity College, but the neighbourhood abounds in characteristic specimens of most varieties of structures. The raths, dolmens, pillars, and cairns on the neighbouring mountains; the promontory forts of Howth and Lambay; the early churches at Castleknock, Dalkey; the round towers of Clondalkin, Lusk, and Swords; the quaint churches of St. Doulough, Howth, and St. Audoen; the cathedrals of the Trinity and St. Patrick; the castles and peel towers of Malahide, Swords, and Dalkey, are most representative. Within easy reach lie such centres as Glendalough; the great cemetery round Newgrange; Kells and Monasterboice, with their noble crosses; the Norman towers of Trim, and the walls and gates of Drogheda.

The arrangement of the book is good and lucid; the stone monuments and early carvings, cromlechs, burial customs and urns, the raths and stone forts, are fully treated, and take up the first half of the volume. Then follow chapters on the stone, bronze, and gold antiquities of early date; an interesting section on crannogs, and one on early churches. So far, save in some minor details, we can only express satisfaction; but whether from exigencies of space (for some 300 out of 400 pages are devoted to the earlier buildings) or from other causes, the romanesque decorated churches, crosses, and later Gothic buildings seem to us inadequately treated. It might almost have been well to have confined the book to pre-Norman antiquities, or to have extended it a little, to give students a better text-book of the most interesting and ornate architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Ireland, the graceful if simple Gothic churches and monasteries, and the fortifications which kept out Irish enemies, but not Irish social connexions and ideas, from the English settlers. It seems a pity that so little can be found in the book about the work of that school of builders, who gave us the beautiful friaries of Sligo, Creevealea, Kilconnel, Quin, Adare, and Muckross.

Some views on disputable subjects would, we think, have better been excluded from a "handbook" and left to specialist Papers. It is said of the round towers "their lines can still be traced along the shores of the waters where the fleets of the Danes are known to have appeared," p. 328: this is a most doubtful statement. The lines of towers round the coast (say from Rathmichael to Ardmore, or from Roscam to Killala) are non-existent, while towers in more secluded positions abound a few miles inland. The age of the County Clare forts is stated to have been assigned to a date after A.D. 370. This we cannot verify from the authorities quoted. Clarisford, on the Shannon, is stated to have derived its name from de Clare, p. 402. We fancied this had been satisfactorily refuted. The weighing of the souls carved on the cross of

Monasterboice has the not uncommon addition of a recumbent devil trying to pull down the scale and falsify the result. This is interpreted as a soul who "appears to have been weighed and found wanting." But these very small blemishes hardly diminish the general value of the work. The illustrations are, as a rule, very good. Many of the old ones reappear, but many excellent new ones have been added. We only regret the reappearance of Mr. Wakeman's inaccurate sketch of the holed stone at Manisterkieran in Aran (p. 20). The inaccuracy has been noted, we believe, more than once in the pages of this *Journal*.

Though the Cuthite theory of Keane and the other theories of the late century and its predecessor do little harm to sound archæology now, and appeal only to a few old-fashioned or ill-instructed persons, still the want of sound works of elementary instruction is as much felt as ever. The republication of such a book as O'Brien's on the round towers, and the publication of such literature as led to the disastrous defacement of the raths at Tara, show that only sound elementary teaching can preserve our archæology from a recrudescence of such absurdities as once made it a mock to all sober scholars outside our island, and the despair of those striving after better things within its shores. Such a work as we have here reviewed minimises the danger of the renewal of that reproach, which, through the influence of our Society, and the labours of our great archæologists, we are at last beginning to live down.

## Proceedings.

(FIFTY-FIFTH YEARLY SESSION.)

A GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, on Tuesday, 28th April, 1903, at 8 o'clock, p.m.;

JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*,  
in the Chair.

The following Fellows and Members attended:—

*Vice-Presidents.*—F. Elrington Ball, M.R.I.A.; Richard Langrishe, J.P.; William C. Stubbs, M.A.

*Hon. General Secretary.*—Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.

*Fellows.*—Henry F. Berry, M.R.I.A.; George D. Burtchaell, M.R.I.A.; George Coffey, M.R.I.A.; John Cooke, M.A.; R. S. Longworth-Dames, M.R.I.A.; Major Fielding; Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, M.R.I.A.; Arthur Fitzmaurice; S. A. O. Fitz-Patrick; George A. P. Kelly, M.A.; P. J. O'Reilly; C. C. Palmer.

*Members.*—Mrs. Allen; Frederick Atterbury; Mrs. Bennet; Henry A. Cosgrave, M.A.; Major O. Wheeler-Cuffe; Frederick Franklin, F.R.I.A.I.; Rev. Canon Fisher, M.A.; Major Lawrence Gorman; Joseph Gough; Patrick J. Griffith; William F. Howie; Miss Anna M. Joly; Richard J. Kelly, J.P.; Mrs. Long; Rev. Dr. Lucas; Francis M'Bride; Joseph H. Moore, M.A.; John Morton; James H. F. Nixon, F.R.G.S.; Thomas Paterson; George Peyton, LL.D.; Miss Ida Pim; Rev. R. B. Rankin, B.A.; W. Johnson-Roberts; George Shackleton; Mrs. E. Weber Smyth; W. Grove White, LL.B.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellow and Members were elected:—

### AS FELLOW.

Wyndham, Right Hon. George, M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland, Chief Secretary's Lodge, Dublin: proposed by John R. Garstin, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*.

### AS MEMBERS.

Beatty, Arthur W., 54, Grosvenor-square, Rathmines: proposed by S. A. O. Fitz Patrick, *Fellow*.

Bennet, Mrs., 1, Tobernea-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin: proposed by Miss J. Clark.

Budds, Mrs. Zoë M., 82, Leinster-road, Dublin: proposed by S. A. O. Fitz Patrick, *Fellow*.

Burke, Miss A., Westport House, Middletown, Co. Armagh: proposed by D. Carolan Rushe, B.A., *Fellow*.



- Butler, Mrs. Cecil, Milestown, Castlebellingham : proposed by John R. Garstin, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*.
- Donnelly, Rev. Michael, St. Macarten's Seminary, Monaghan : proposed by Denis Carolan Rushe, B.A., *Fellow*.
- Donovan, Richard, D.L., LL.B., J.P., Ballymore, Camolin : proposed by Richard Langrishe, J.P., *Vice-President*.
- French, Edward John, B.A. (Dubl.), Solicitor, St. Ann's, Donnybrook, Co. Dublin : proposed by Trevor T. L. Overend.
- Jackson, Charles James, J.P., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law, 19, Langland Gardens, London, N.W. : proposed by John R. Garstin, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*.
- Kennedy, R. R., M.A., Grosvenor-place, Carlow : proposed by Colonel P. D. Vigors, *Fellow*.
- Lawler, Charles, J.P., 62, Leinster-road, Rathmines : proposed by Francis M'Bride.
- Librarian, Public Library, Thomas-street, Dublin : proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., *Fellow*.
- Librarian, Public Library, Capel-street, Dublin : proposed by Robert Cochrane.
- Librarian, Public Library, North Strand, Dublin : proposed by Robert Cochrane.
- Lloyd, Miss Annie, 16, Pembroke Park, Dublin : proposed by S. A. O. Fitz Patrick, *Fellow*.
- M'Glade, Patrick, Knockloughrim, Co. Derry : proposed by S. F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.
- O'Conchobhair, Domhnall, 46 and 47, Dame-street, Dublin : proposed by Henry Dixon.
- Pirrie-Conerney, Rev. John, M.A., The Rectory, Burnfoot, Londonderry : proposed by the Rev. H. P. Gosselin, B.A.
- Pirrie-Conerney, Mrs. E. F., The Rectory, Burnfoot, Londonderry : proposed by the Rev. H. P. Gosselin, B.A.
- Tibbs, John Harding, B.A., 10, Windsor-road, Rathmines : proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.
- Walsh, Richard Walter, J.P., Williamstown House, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth : proposed by John R. Garstin, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*.
- Wilson, James George, 8, Cope-street ; and Tavistock, Ranelagh-road, Dublin : proposed by E. W. Smyth, J.P.

The Report of the Auditors of Hon. Treasurer's Accounts for the year 1902 was read and adopted, and the Accounts were ordered to be printed in the *Journal* (see page 206).

Mr. Stubbs, the retiring Hon. Treasurer, in presenting the Accounts for the year 1902, said :—“ The arrears paid during the year amounted to £59 12s., as against £117 paid in 1901 ; but, on the other hand, the arrears paid during that year were unusually large : only £48 10s. having been received under that head in 1900. The payments in advance were £44 10s., as against £51 6s., a decrease of some £6. The amount realized by the sale of publications was £54 9s. 8d., as against £47 1s. 10d., an increase of some £7.

“ The interest on Consols was the same, taking the income tax into account. The interest allowed by the bank was £3 2s. 3d., as against £5 16s. 3d., a decrease of some £2. This is accounted for by the fact that the Council made arrangements to pay their printers quarterly,

# ACCOUNTS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND FOR THE YEAR 1902.

CHARGE.			DISCHARGE.		
1902.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1902.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. To Balance from 1901,			Dec. 31. By Ponsonby & Weldrick, and Ponsonby & Gibbs' Account for		248 11 2
Dec. 31. " Subscriptions for 1902—Fellows,	120 0 0	39 3 3	" Printing and Binding Four Quarterly Parts of the <i>Journal</i> ,		62 12 1
" " " Members,	457 8 0		" Postage of <i>Journal</i> for 1902,		
" " Entrance Fees for 1902—Fellows,	5 0 0	577 8 0	" " Ponsonby & Weldrick, and Ponsonby & Gibbs' Account for		
" " " Members,	19 10 0		" Miscellaneous Printing, including Programme and Postage		
" " Life Compositions—Fellows,	25 2 6	24 10 0	thereof,		
" " " Members,	32 10 0		" " Ponsonby & Weldrick, Printing Part I. of the Index to vols.		100 2 7
" " Arrears paid in 1902 :—			" " i.-xx.,		83 4 5
" " Subscriptions—Fellow,	10 0 0	659 10 6	" " Illustrations for <i>Journal</i> ,		28 0 6
" " " Members,	49 12 0		" " Subscriptions and Books,		5 8 6
" " Payments in Advance made in 1902 :—			" " Photographic Account,		3 5 5
" " " Subscriptions—Fellow,	33 0 0		" " Stationery Account,		3 5 0
" " " Members,	7 10 0		" " Postage and Incidental Expenses,		52 7 4
" " Entrance Fees—Fellows,	3 0 0	59 12 0	" " Salary of Clerk,		56 8 0
" " " Members,	7 10 0		" " Cheque Books,		0 8 4
" " Sale of Publications,	25 16 8	54 9 8	" " Furniture and Fittings,		20 1 0
" " Interest on Consols,	3 2 3		" " Tea at Evening Meetings,		7 12 4
" " " allowed by Bank,			" " Lantern and Slides at Evening Meetings,		5 5 3
" " Donations to General Funds,		28 18 11	" " Caretaker's Wages,		39 10 0
" " Advertisements in <i>Journal</i> ,		3 0 6	" " Rent of 6, St. Stephen's-green,		85 0 0
" " Letting of Hall, 6, St. Stephen's-		52 1 0	" " Bookbinding,		4 2 0
" " green,		8 5 0	" " Lighting Account,		12 15 5
" " Associates—Derry Meeting,			" " Balance,		138 10 0
" " Total,		147 15 1	" " Total,		£950 10 10
		£950 10 10			

(Signed) WILLIAM C. STUBBS, HON. TREASURER.

We have examined this Account, with the Vouchers and Books, and find it correct, there being in the Provincial Bank the sum of £158 10s. to the Credit of the Society, on 31st of December, 1902. The Capital Account amounts to £1000, invested in 2½ per cent. Consols, in the names of the Trustees.

(Signed) JOHN COOKE,  
SAMUEL A. O. FITZPATRICK, } Auditors.

April 7th, 1903.

Accounts Passed at General Meeting of Society of this date—JOHN R. GARSTIN, PRESIDENT, April 28th, 1903.

when the accounts were due, and was allowed by them a discount, so that the credit balance was not so large from time to time as in former years.

"The letting of the Hall produced £52 1s. as against £42 8s., an increase of almost £10.

"Coming then to the other side of the account, we paid for printing and binding the four quarterly parts of the *Journal* £248 11s. 3d., which was some £33 less than the preceding year. The postage of the *Journal*, £62 12s. 1d., was less by £16 than the preceding year.

"The miscellaneous printing, including illustrated programmes, notices of meetings, and the postage of them, £100 2s. 7d., as against £78 for the preceding year. The illustrations of the *Journal* was £28 9s. 6d., as against £51 7s. 10d. for the preceding year.

"Postage and incidental expenses increased from £38 14s. 2d. to £52 7s. 4d. A considerable amount of this is caused by the necessity for sending several applications asking for the subscriptions; if Fellows and Members would pay on the first application, or, better still, before it, they would materially diminish an item which is a heavy drain on the finances of the Society.

"Furniture and fittings cost £20 1s., as against £7 5s. 6d.; the increase was caused by the cost of fitting new shelving in the store library. The other payments were at about the same rate as the preceding year.

"Part I. of the Index, 1849 to 1889, costing £83 4s. 5d., was also paid for, leaving a balance of £158 10s. to the credit of the year 1903, as against £39 3s. 3d. at the beginning of 1902."

A vote of thanks was passed to the outgoing Hon. Treasurer for his valuable services to the Society during the past three years.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication, viz. :—

"Some Notes on the Judges of Ireland in the year 1739," by F. Elrington Ball,  
M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

"Legal Office-Holders in 1739," by Richard J. Kelly, J.P., Barrister-at-Law,  
*Hon. Local Secretary for North Galway*.

"Some Extracts from John Wesley's Journal—1735 to 1790—describing his Visits to Ireland, with Notes thereon," by the Rev. Canon Courtenay Moore, M.A.,  
R.D., *Hon. Provincial Secretary for Munster*.

The President (Mr. Garstin) exhibited a rare engraving from an early magazine (kindly lent by Sir A. Vicars, F.S.A., Ulster), which showed St. Stephen's-green (where the Society has its habitat), as seen from the west side, as it appeared in 1745, when there were there elaborate fire-works in celebration of the Peace of Amiens. The houses shown, those on the eastern side, were of Dutch type, not continuous. The engraving has since been presented to the National Gallery, where it will find a place in the new Dublin room.

The Meeting was then adjourned.



THE KILKENNY MEETING.

An Evening Meeting of the Society was held at Kilkenny on Tuesday, 26th May, 1903, at 8 o'clock, p.m., JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following Papers were read :—

- “On the Bouchier Tablet in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, with some account of that family,” by Richard Langrishe, *Vice-President*.
- “A Notice of the places to be Visited on 27th May, viz. Ballybur, Burnchurch, Newtown, Castle Eve, Kells, Kilree, Dunamaggin, and Callan,” by John Commins.

The following Paper was taken as read :—

- “On Finds of Chert and Flint Implements in County Meath,” by E. Crofton Rotherham.

The foregoing Papers were referred to the Council for publication.

The Sword and Mace of the city of Kilkenny were shown to the members by permission of the Mayor of Kilkenny.

On the motion of Mr. G. D. Burtchael, M.R.I.A., seconded by Colonel Vigers, Mr. Langrishe's Paper was referred to the Council for publication.

Mr. Commins having read his Paper, the Right Rev. Dr. Crozier, Lord Bishop of Ossory, &c., in moving that the Paper be referred to the Council of the Society for publication, said that Mr. Commins had given them a most interesting and enjoyable bird's-eye view of the course some of them hoped to take on the morrow. He could not imagine anything more interesting than to have one's eyes opened before they went to a place, and to be told what they were likely to see. Sometimes it came about, as in the case of the knights mentioned in Tennyson's song, “Ye have seen what ye have seen, because what a man is so he sees.” He (his lordship) was a great believer of the old Chinese proverb, that “a man thinks he knows, but a woman knows better.” He did not know whether the ladies present that evening knew the places referred to. He could say that a good deal of the Paper was bright, fresh, crisp, and interesting information to him, which he hoped long to retain. It was *multum in parvo*, and gave not only knowledge that was useful, but also opened people's eyes as to what they would expect to see.

Mr. M. M. Murphy, *Hon. Local Secretary*—I have great pleasure in seconding this motion, and as we shall have the pleasure of having Mr. Commins with us on to-morrow, I do not think I need say anything further about his Paper.

Mr. Murphy also said that the members would like to hear something from the President with regard to the sword and mace which had been sent by the Mayor of Kilkenny.

Mr. Garstin accordingly proceeded briefly to refer to the sword and mace. He alluded to Mr. J. A. Prim's Paper published in the *Journal* in 1870, which gave a graphic and interesting account of the grand doings of civic society in Kilkenny in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He also referred to a Paper on Irish Maces, &c., written by himself for the Arts and Crafts Society, and published in 1898, which had representations of most of them, including that of Kilkenny and the civic sword. Although Kilkenny was incorporated early in the thirteenth century, and had many charters before 1609, it was not until then that the Chief Magistrate was styled Mayor. The great charter of James I. in that year conferred on him the right to have a sword carried before him; and though a great mace was not mentioned, he "shall be able to constitute and have from time to time for ever, 3, 4, or 5 officers" to execute the office of sergeant-at-mace. On the 6th of October following the charter a sword-bearer and sergeant-at-mace were appointed, and they, with the wife of the latter, were "to dyet on festivals at Mr. Mayor's house." In 1620 the Corporation provided a gown for the sword-bearer. In 1638 it was ordered "that the sword and 4 maces shall be carried before the Mayor at the burial of aldermen and their wives, but at the burial of every sheriff's peer, and their wives, the sword, with only two maces." In a table of salaries of civic officials in 1658 the following appeared:—"The sword-bearer, £8 and perquisites; great mace-bearer, £8; city marshal, £5; sheriff's sergeants, £4 each; city musicians, £5 each." He (President) did not know whether they had any of these now or not. In 1709 the sword-bearer and great mace-bearer had still £8 each, but, instead of perquisites for the former, the office of weigh-master was assigned to the latter, and £4 per annum was the salary paid to each of the two sergeants-of-mace, two beadles, and four scavengers! The latter seemed to have taken the place of the city musicians. In 1629 the music was represented by the common drummer, who was allowed £10 per annum; and, so lately as 1752, a salary was paid to Mr. John Ximenes, organist of St. Canice's Cathedral, "for playing this Corporation in and out of Church." In 1768, when the Mayor, with the sheriffs, aldermen, common council men, and the city regalia, went in procession, "in their formalities," from the Tholsel to St. Canice's, they were preceded by the charter school boys, "singing psalms through the streets with becoming decency and regularity." One of the sergeants was styled "Mayor of the bull-ring." It was his duty to slay all pigs found straying, and there was a functionary designated the "whip beggar." The sword was really one of exceptional interest; the blade had no inscription on it, the handle was very remarkable, it was extremely beautiful, but they did not know who the donor of the sword

was, or how it was acquired; it was quite before the time of the mace. The scabbard was later, and the arms were of the Stuart period. Besides the usual silver clasps, bands with inscriptions were put on by two mayors named Colles. The great mace was an exceptionally fine one; all maces have the Royal arms, and here they were in the head; round the head were the rose, thistle, *fleur-de-lis*, and harp. The ornamentation was worth studying; the inscription recorded that it was given by the Duke of Ormonde. He thought he might call him the great Duke of Ormonde. The inscription was in Latin, and it related that it was presented by James Duke of Ormonde to the Mayor, Francis Rowlidge, and the date was 1676. The case of this duke was the only instance of a duke being a duke of both kingdoms. Kilkenny was indebted to that great duke for this magnificent ornament. The hall-marks prove that it was made in London, and the evidence rooms of the castle contained a letter from one James Clark, dated 1677, announcing its being sent over, and saying, "I gave a mighty charge to furnish it very well, and I think 'tis much finer than any is here done of late." "Robinson the Carrier" received 4s. 6d. for bringing it from Dublin.

Colonel Vigors exhibited two rubbings from sepulchral slabs of exceptional interest and beauty. One was that of John Nevil, Sovereign of New Ross, dated 1632, and lately unearthed. The other was of the fifteenth century from the M'Sweenys' Castle at Doe, on the coast of Donegal.

In connexion with this Meeting, Excursions were carried out as follows:—

At 2 o'clock, Tuesday afternoon, 26th May, members met at the Victoria Hotel, where wagonettes were ready to convey them to Dunmore Caves, which were explored.

The Celtic name is "*Dearc Fearna*," and it is mentioned in an ancient MS. preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, called the "*Irish Triads*," as one of the three darkest caves in Ireland.

The *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the year 928, record the plundering of *Dearc Fearna*, and the slaughter of one thousand persons therein, by Godfrey, grandson of Imhar, and the Northmen of Dublin.

A full and most carefully prepared description of the bones found in this cave is given by Dr. A. Wynne Foot at p. 65 of the *Journal* for 1870 (vol. xi.).

Returning to Kilkenny, the party drove through Jenkinstown Park, by invitation of the Hon. G. L. Bryan. The Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Bellew also kindly invited them to tea.

On leaving the park, the members proceeded through Ardaloog to Castledogh, commonly called Threecastles, where the remains of three Norman castles are still to be seen.



By kind permission of Mrs. Clarke, the party drove through her grounds, and close to a very fine tumulus near her house, supposed to be the burial-place of Ruman Duach, and also close to the remains of one of the three castles which is situate in her yard. (See *Journal*, vol. xxi., 1890, p. 115.)

On the return to Kilkenny a visit was paid to St. Canice's Cathedral, where the recently-erected Dean Hare Memorial Screens were examined with great interest. Three very beautiful screens have been erected, forming a memorial to the late Dean Hare, so long and so well known as an active member of our Society. They were designed by the architect of the cathedral, Richard Langrishe, Esq., *Vice-President*, and were executed by wood-carvers and sculptors of Bruges, whose representative in this country, Mr. M. J. C. Buckley, of Youghal, *Honorary Local Secretary for County Cork*, undertook the direction and fixing of the work. The screens, or "Parcloses," are placed—two within the arches of the north and south chapels of the chancel of the cathedral; whilst the third screen occupies the arch immediately behind the Bishop's throne. These are made in the architectural type of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, and are composed of cusped open arcades in the upper portions, and solid panellings in the lower dados. Their "trabes," or cross-beams, are ornamented with vine-leaf crestings, and the largest screen, behind the throne, is buttressed and surmounted by richly crocketed pinnacles in the same style as those on the stalls. The doors in each of the screens have "linen-fold" panels in their lower halves, all these doors being provided with locks, hinges, &c., in ruddy-coloured or "rose" metal. Even their trefoil keys are artistic works, having wrought brass handles in the manner of the Flemish smiths of the school of Quintin Matsys of Bruges. The upper tracery of the open arcades of the screens has been ornamented by shields of arms, blazoned in gold and colours according to heraldic rules. The armorial bearings of the bishops of Ossory from A.D. 1775 to A.D. 1897, and deans of St. Canice's from A.D. 1670 to A.D. 1903, are placed on the two screens at the entrance to the chancel; the shields on the northern, or "Gospel" side, being those of the bishops arranged in the following order:—

Newcome, 1775; Hotham, 1779; Beresford, 1782; O'Beirne, 1795; Hamilton, 1799; Kearney, 1806; Fowler, 1813; O'Brien, 1842; Gregg, 1875; Walsh, 1878.

On the screen of the southern side are the armorial bearings of the following deans:—

Parry, 1673; Pooley, 1674; Mossom, 1703; Watt, 1747; Lewis, 1755; Pack, 1784; Bourke, 1795; Vignoles, 1843; Hare, 1877; Lyons, 1901.

All these arms were delineated and emblazoned by Mr. Langrishe. On the upper frame of the panelling in the dado of the southern screen two well engraved and illuminated "rose" metal tablets are affixed containing the following inscriptions:—"To the glory of God, and in loving memory of the Very Rev. Thomas Hare, D.D., Dean of St. Canice's Cathedral, 1877-1901."

"This screen, together with two others in this cathedral, has been erected by his widow and other attached friends, A.D. 1903."

On the larger screen, behind the present incongruous and inartistic Bishop's throne, are the armorial shields of the present Bishop, Dr. John-Baptist Crozier, A.D. 1897, and that of the architect, or *Magister Operis* Richard Langrishe, A.D. 1872.

The party were afterwards most hospitably entertained to tea by the Right Rev. Bishop Crozier and Mrs. Crozier, in the Palace.

The members who arrived in Kilkenny early on the 26th May visited Kilkenny Castle (by permission of Lord Ormonde). Other places of interest in the city which were visited in the forenoon are St. Mary's Cathedral, Black Abbey, St. Francis' Abbey, St. Mary's old Church, St. John's Priory, and the Society's Museum.

On Wednesday, May 27th, the members drove to Ballybur Castle, Burnchurch Castle, Newtown Castle and Church and Castle Eve, Kells Priory and Seven Castles, Kilree Round Tower, Cross, and Tomb, and Callan, where lunch was served. Mr. John Commins pointed out and described the different places and remains visited during the day, amplifying the details in the Paper read by him at the meeting. After inspecting the numerous places of interest at Callan, the members returned to Kilkenny in time for the trains to Dublin and Waterford.

The local arrangements for the meeting and excursions were in the hands of Mr. M. M. Murphy, Solicitor, *Hon. Local Secretary for County Kilkenny*, and were admirably carried out, and afforded great pleasure to the large party of members and friends who took part in the proceedings.

The Managers of the Great Northern Railway of Ireland, the Great Southern and Western Railway, and the Midland Great Western Railway kindly issued return tickets at single fares from various stations on their lines to Dublin on the 25th and 26th of May, and the Great Southern and Western Railway issued return tickets at single fares from Dublin and other stations on the line to Kilkenny to members attending the Meeting and Excursions.

## KILREE CHURCH AND ROUND TOWER, COUNTY KILKENNY.

BY MISS J. CLARK.

[Read by the REV. CANON FFRENCH, M.R.I.A., JANUARY 27, 1903.]

AFTER the Society's Meeting at Kilkenny, in October last, we stayed behind to visit some places of antiquarian interest in the neighbourhood. These places were the great Priory of Kells and the Church of Kilree, with its Round Tower, Celtic Cross, and Holy Well. Kilree is on a gently sloping eminence—one of those characterised by O'Heerin as "warm" hill-slopes—the Round Tower in the centre, rising above trees gorgeous in autumnal colouring, the ruined church still hidden in luxuriant foliage. The place was visited in connexion with the Society's Meeting at Kilkenny in April, 1897 (see *Journal*, for 1897, vol. xxvii., p. 204). The Comerford tomb, with the figure of a cock crowing on the edge of a pot carved on the side, is therein described, but the brief notice of the objects seen on that occasion made one eager for more information. There is an illustration of the place in Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall's "Ireland," but the fine Cross is sadly caricatured. The Round Tower of Kilree is less tapering towards the summit than usual; and is without the conical cap so often seen. It is 50 feet 6 inches in circumference near the base, and is said to be nearly 100 feet high. The door faces the church, and is about 6 feet from the ground; looking in, one can just see the projecting stones in the wall for the supports of the first floor; the grand old structure is in good preservation. The tower stands 27 feet from the church to the north-west.

The masonry of the church is much inferior to that of the tower. The entrance door is square-headed, the opening into the chancel (part of which is a modern addition) is arched. The edifice is perfectly plain; not a carved stone is to be seen, nor any attempt at ornament.

The Cross stands at the farther side of the adjacent field; it is of sandstone, 8 feet in height, and is sculptured with interlaced patterns in relief. The centre of the front face is studded with bosses, but there are neither figures nor letters of any kind. According to Keating, the Ordnance Survey, and local tradition, Kilree was originally named *Cill Bhrighda*, the church dedicated to Saint Bridget, and the name was changed to Cill Righ, after the tragic death of an old Irish king. In A.D. 851 Niall Caille, King of all Ireland, determined to establish an O'Foelain on the throne of Leinster, and he arrived at the river Callan at the head of a great force to invade Ossory. The river was swollen with a flood, and his guide was carried away in crossing the ford near Kells; the king plunged in to rescue him, but he also sank in the current and was drowned. He was



buried at the church of St. Bridget, to which a road led from the ford. Ever afterwards the church was known as Kill Righ, the Church of the King; and the king as Niall "Caille," from the river Callan, and the river itself as Abhan Righ, the King's River. To the ordinary tourist no story could sound more satisfactory; however, like a great deal of that class of history, it has been pronounced by high authority an invention. Dr. O'Donovan, as reported by Mr. John Hogan,<sup>1</sup> calls it a mere pseudo-tradition, founded on the word Kilree (which is only the Anglicised form of Kill Fraoich). The chapel of Cill-Bhrighde was an ancient church, he says, "the site of which is a place of great sepulture, known as Killbride, two miles south of Callan";<sup>2</sup> the name might come from the situation of the church.

I have already suggested that the name might come from the situation of the church. The local pronunciation, "Kilree," is against that idea, and seems to indicate its derivation from Righ, a king. I mentioned the subject to Dr. Joyce, who pointed this out, but he declined to give a decided opinion, not having seen the place himself. Mr. John Hogan, in his *Handbook to Kilkenny*, states that he has not been able to obtain "a single vista into the primitive history of this locality."

When we enter the interior of the church we find a record on stone connecting it with comparatively modern civilisation. Here there is an altar tomb, with an inscription cut in relief along the edge of the slab, to the memory of Richard Comerford and his wife. The inscription is as follows:—

"HIC JACET DOMINUS RICARDUS COMERFORD QUONDAM DE DANGANMORE, QUI OBIIT [ ] ET DOMINA JOANNA ST. LEGER, UXOR EJUS, PIA HOSPITALIS ET ADMODUM IN OMNES MISERICORS, MATRONA, QUÆ OBIIT 4 DIE OCTOB. 1622."

On the front side of the tomb the Instruments of the Passion are sculptured in the curious style seen on many monuments in Ossory of the same period. (Miss Margaret Stokes' interesting Paper on the subject will be remembered; it was published in the *Journal* for 1898, vol. xxviii.)

The Comerfords were early Anglo-Norman settlers who always took a high position in the county of Kilkenny, and were titular Barons of Danganmore. A younger son of the old Staffordshire family of Comerford came to Ireland in the suite of King John, and married a niece of Hugo de Lacy. In the ruins of Kells Priory there was some years ago a shattered slab bearing a floriated cross, of the Edwardian period, and an inscription, without any date, to the memory of Richard Comerford, formerly Prior of the convent, but it is no longer to be seen.

<sup>1</sup> "Topographical and Historical Illustrations of the Suburbs of Kilkenny" *Journal*, vol. v., p. 468, and vol. vi., p. 355).

<sup>2</sup> O'Donovan's own idea is that the patron saint of the church of Kilree "was called by the Irish 'Cruimther Fraech,' who, at his principal church in Leitrim, is called 'Criffer Ree,' the *f* being totally sunk," whence *might* come the word "Kilree," the present name of his church near Kells. But this derivation seems far-fetched.

The Richard Comerford who was interred in Kilree church was honoured with a second monument in the form of a wayside cross at Danganmore, the residence of the head of the family. The shaft of the cross has been missing for about two centuries and a-half; some say it was buried to preserve it from destruction by Cromwell's soldiers like the



KILREE CROSS AND ROUND TOWER.

cross at Finglas. Only the pedestal remained fifty years since, when the inscription on it was copied by Mr. Prim, as follows :—

ORATE PRO ANIMABUS RICHARD COMERFORD ET JOANNÆ ST. LEGER.

RICH. OBIT 5 OCTO. A. 1624. JO. OBIT 3 OCTO. 1622.

RICHARD—COMRF—JOANNA.

CATHERINA FFENNELL ME FIERI FECIT 29 APRIL. ANNO DOMINI 1636.

It may be noticed that the date of Richard Comerford's death, which is left a blank on his tombstone, is here given as "5 Octo. A. 1624," two years after the death of his wife. He had evidently erected the

monument himself, putting his own name first and leaving a space for the date—a space never filled up.

Catherine Ffennell, who erected the cross, is supposed to have been the wife of the son of Richard Comerford, but it seems strange that it was she, only connected with the family by marriage, who thus piously honoured the memory of her husband's parents in his lifetime.

Some light, true or false, is thrown upon her character by local tradition. She was spoken of by the people of the neighbourhood as "Katty Comerford, a tremendous warrior, who ruled her husband and her household with a rod of iron."

A document discovered among the records in Kilkenny Castle shows her in quite a different light. It appears that on her husband's death she was left unexpectedly in arrears to the Duke of Ormonde, with her children unprovided for, and there is preserved her petition to his Grace "to commiserate the unableness and low condition of his oratrix . . . and to discharge her from all arrears, and give her a lease of ye farme of Danganmore, etc." There is good reason to believe that the prayer was granted. Of the ancient hill of Kilree few vestiges are to be seen, though in bygone days it was the centre of busy life in the district; four roads met in what was formerly the square in the middle of the baile, where portions of the foundations of a rude castle were traceable a few years since.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kilree Round Tower is 93 feet high, and 50 feet 8 inches in circumference, with two plinths or projecting base courses. The doorway has a round head, cut out of one block, and is ornamented with a flat, raised band. It was conserved as a National Monument in 1883. There are illustrations in Wilkinson's "Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland"; also in Miss Stokes' "Early Christian Architecture of Ireland," Plate xxiv. There is a good account, by L. C. Beaufort, in *Trans. R.I.A.* (1827), vol. xv., p. 219; and a note in *Proc. R.I.A.*, Ser. III., vol. v., p. 304.—[Ed.]



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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART III., VOL. XXXIII.

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Papers.

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THE ANCIENT CORPORATION OF BARBER-SURGEONS, OR  
GILD OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, DUBLIN.

BY HENRY F. BERRY, M.A., M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

[Read NOVEMBER 25, 1902.]

THE Fraternity of Barbers in this city—the most ancient medical corporation in the United Kingdom—was incorporated at an earlier period than the corresponding society in England. The Barbers here had a royal charter, dated 18th October, 1446, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry VI., while the London Gild had no grant until the year 1461, in the first year of King Edward IV. The Dublin company ranked fourth among the city gilds, those having precedence of it being—1. Merchants, or Trinity Gild; 2. Tailors; 3. Smiths. The charter of Henry VI. is no longer extant, but the records of the gild show that a copy of it was in their possession in 1747; and the document may have disappeared in 1754, when the charters of the fraternity were given out to Daniel Bourne, the clerk, for translation.<sup>1</sup> No enrolment of this charter is to be found in the rolls of Chancery, which are deficient for some years prior and subsequent to the date of the grant.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1720 the clerk was ordered to construe and make English copies of the charters of Henry VI. and Elizabeth: the gild seal was to be affixed, and the copies were to be deposited among the records.

On 6th September, 1715, a document embodying the charter was brought for enrolment into Chancery by Thomas Collins, master of the gild, and when duly enrolled, it should have been replaced in the record chest; it lay, however, in the old Rolls Office from 1715 until the records of that department were transferred to the Public Record Office, and it will be found noted as "Charter of the Gild of Barber-Surgeons, Henry VI.," among the *Miscellanea* of the Rolls Office in the *Record Commissioners' Reports*, 1816-20, p. 520. The document is to the following effect:—Be it remembered that on Thursday next before the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, in the 26th year of the reign of King Henry VI. the master and wardens of the Fraternity or Gild of the art of Barbers in the King's city of Dublin (the Fraternity and Gild of St. Mary Magdalene),<sup>1</sup> came here into the court of the said city before Nicholas Woder, mayor, Thomas Savage and Henry Fitz Eustace, bailiffs, and brought into the said court certain letters patent of the lord the King, which they sought to be enrolled here, &c., which letters patent at the request of the said master and wardens are enrolled in the court here in these words—Henry by the grace of God, King of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters shall come greeting; know ye that of our special grace, with the assent of the venerable father in Christ, Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, our Justiciary of Ireland, to the praise of God, and in honour of the B. V. M., St. Mary Magdalene and all saints, and for fulfilling the pious proposal and wholesome intention of our beloved and faithful, Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, Giles Thorndon, esquire, our Treasurer of Ireland, Brother Thomas Talbot, prior of Kilmaynham, Brother William, prior of the House of St. John without the new gate, Dublin, Christopher Bernevall, our Chief Justice of Ireland, Robert Douedall, Chief Justice of our Common Bench in Ireland, Michael Gryffyn, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Edward Somerton, our serjeant at laws, Stephen Roache, Attorney-General, Edward Bryan, James Cheyny, barber, Philip Leghelyn, barber, John Bron, barber, Richard Russell, barber, Stephen Broun, barber, and John Vale, barber, for us our heirs and successors, we have granted licence that they or the survivors of them to the praise of God and in honour of St. Mary Magdalene and all saints may found, of themselves and other persons, as well men as women, a fraternity or gild of the art of Barbers of our city of Dublin, to be called the fraternity or gild of St. Mary Magdalene, and may receive as brethren and sisters any honest and fitting persons willing freely to join them; and that the brothers of the said fraternity

<sup>1</sup> The Barbers of London do not appear to have placed themselves under the patronage of any saint; those of Norwich dedicated their gild to St. John the Baptist, while the Lincoln Barbers chose St. John the Evangelist. The fact of the Dublin gild adopting the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene for their chantry may have been the reason for placing themselves under her patronage; but it also seems probable that the story of the Magdalene having wiped our Lord's feet with her hair may have influenced a fraternity of barbers in claiming her special protection.

or gild so founded may elect each year a master and two wardens belonging to the art of Barbers, for the rule and governance of the fraternity and for the custody of all lands, tenements, rents, possessions, goods and chattels which henceforth may happen to be acquired, given, or assigned, or which may happen to belong to the said fraternity or gild, for the rule and governance of the art of Barbers in our said city and the suburbs of the same.

Furthermore, they were to have a common seal, and a chantry of one or more priests, for the celebration of the divine offices every day for ever, in the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Dublin, for the souls of the King, the founders, brethren and sisters, &c., with liberty to acquire lands and tenements for the endowment of the chantry. Power was also granted to inquire into all trespasses, extortions, and defaults by any exercising the art of Barbers, their servants and apprentices, in all appertaining to the said art, committed within the city and six miles round its precincts. Such as were convicted before the master and wardens were to be punished within the prison of the city, and they were authorized to levy and collect fines imposed for offences. Apprentices were to be of free condition, of the English nation, of good conversation, &c. The charter was dated 18th October, 25 Henry VI.

It will be observed that the gild was to have its chantry in the church of St. Mary Magdalene, the locality of which was not at first quite apparent, but on investigation it appears to have been a chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, which stood within the precincts of the Hospital of St. John, outside the new gate. In a volume of enrolments of apprentices, &c., the fraternity is denominated that of St. Mary Magdalene "without the new gate of the city," and in the year 1388 John Hammond, by his will,<sup>1</sup> directed his body to be buried in the cemetery of St. John, outside the new gate, "before the door of the church of St. Mary Magdalene," to which church he bequeathed 20*s.* for masses. In "Pembroke's Annals," under the year 1308, John le Decer, mayor of Dublin, is recorded to have built the chapel of *St. Mary* in St. John's Hospital; and though Stanihurst has it that John le Decer erected "*another chapel to the Blessed Virgin Mary*" in their Hospital, it seems more likely that the dedication mentioned was that to St. Mary Magdalene. If this were so, the first of the two buildings erected in her honour did not long survive its erection, for in 1316, on the approach of Edward Bruce, the citizens set fire to Thomas-street, when unfortunately both the church of St. John itself and the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene were consumed in the flames. These buildings were subsequently re-erected, and King Edward II. made a grant of all deodands for a certain period as a contribution towards the expenses.<sup>2</sup>

Gilbert's "Corporation Records" (iii., p. 55), under the year 1615,

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert's "Corporation Records," vol. i., p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> King, MSS. quoted in Archdall's "Monasticon."



shows that a grant of the void ground in the east end of *St. Molloye's* chapel was made to the inhabitants of St. Thomas-street, St. James-street, and St. Francis-street, for the purpose of their erecting on the premises a strong gate of timber, with a shed over it, and providing a substantial pair of stocks, at the cost of the said inhabitants, for the punishment of disordered persons and night walkers, and for no other use or purpose. Under the above *alias* of St. Molloye, probably a corruption of *Maudlin*, will be recognised the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. Once the premises in which they had met became secularized, the fraternity of Barbers were compelled to seek another altar for their chantry, and some entries in the records, together with a notice in the Proctor's account of Christ Church Cathedral for the year 1595, show that the worship of the gild was transferred to Christ Church. This account mentions the "barbors' chappell," without defining its locality, but it is spoken of in connexion with "Shelton's holding"—one of the cellar holdings at the north side of the nave. Mr. James Mills is of opinion that it may have been the eastern half of the north aisle of the nave; leases of the seventeenth century show that this part of the church was then a vestry.<sup>1</sup>

In the oldest extant volume of the gild records appears an entry made in 1573 of a payment of 5*s.* contributed at the command of the brethren, towards the building of the hall of Christ Church. A sum of 8*s.* 6*d.* was also disbursed on St. Mary Magdalene's day (22 July) for rushes, &c. As in the case of other fraternities, the gild of Barbers attended service on the eve of their patron saint's day, and again on the festival day itself, when the brethren also dined or supped together, and the officers for the ensuing year were sworn in ancient form. The following entries throw some further light on the old customs of this particular gild:—

1582. "A Mary Mawdline Even" to the company of Christ Church, 2*s.* 6*d.*

To the "Querysters" same night, 6*d.*

"A Mauddlyn" day to John Brady, 9*d.*

1584. At Christ Church, Mary Maudlin day, Patrick Drynane was at church: the clerk, Walter Dormer, Patrick Welsh, John Morphin. William Kelly, absent. (He came to Evening Prayer.) William Naghten, Richard Egerton, Rowland Mery, absent.

The charge that Patrick Drynane paid that day. To the clergy, bells, and choristers, 3*s.* 4*d.* For rushes, one white grott. For drinking for the ringers, 4*d.*

Among the payments made by Richard Egerton when Master (1582-3) is a sum of 12*d.* for the Chancellor and Company of Christ Church. It is evident that great importance was attached to attendance at Divine

<sup>1</sup> A Paper on "Sixteenth-century Notices of the Chapels and Crypts of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin" (*Journal*, 1900, p. 195).

Service on 22nd July, from the fact of absentees' names being specially noted, and William Kelly's getting credit for putting in an appearance at Evening Prayer. There is further a special note to the effect that Rowland Merye was to be fined 20s. for not waiting on the master and wardens three patron days last; William Kelly, Master, on two of them, and third patron day Richard Egerton, Master. This note is undated, but Kelly was Master 1576-7 and 1577-8. In 1569 Patrick Byctone, Merye, Drynan, and Byrd were fined 4*d.* each for not being at Even-song.

Among the records of this period the name of only one chaplain or chantry priest appears, that of Sir Milles Linche occurring for the first time in 1569. His name is to be found as a witness in some of the Christ Church Deeds between the years 1572 and 1578. The next mention of a chaplain is the appointment in 1750 of Rev. James Fetherston, a free brother, to that office.

The form of oath taken by the original members of the gild and their successors is found in the earliest volume of the records, engrossed in the year 1535 in four parchment leaves, rubricated. As the remaining portion of the volume is of paper, and only dates from 1555, it would seem that the parchment leaves had belonged to another and much older book of rules and proceedings—one probably coeval with the foundation of the fraternity. The entry is as follows:—

“Heer foloweth the othe of the master and wardines also bretherne of Mary Magdalen is yelde callid the fraternite of the Barbor crafte of the cite of Dublin from tyme that ther charter was purchasid, that every of them have gywen at the time of ther creaçon and ingresse into the said yelde.

“Firste, y<sup>e</sup> shall swere him by his name and naçone, as here folowith, I Jone or I Herri filch<sup>1</sup> and soforth, by this holy evangeliste boke do swere promit and bynd yoresilfe all dissimilaçon fraud and dissent put apart, To honor God and Mary Magdalene accordynge to the dayes and all tymmes apoynted affir the custumes and statutis made and to be made concernynge and schall concerne (now and in tyme to cum) the honestie and behoif of this gelde of God and Saynt Marie Magdalen, and the saide statutes, laudable custumes, and lawes to observe and kepe, with all your diligens, and also with helpe of yore goodes, and likewise to humble yorsilfe with honestie and goode maners, and so to be obedient to the master and wardines this tyme and all tymes, and to their successors after them during the tyme of yore life, notwithstanding if I scholde change the copi of the Barbor's crafte, yet to gyve and yelde in with and uppon all maner artis, and to berre all maner of chargis with them like as I had continewed using the Barbor's crafte duringe yore life, and as sone as I are citid or warn to cum to the place where mastir and wardines

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<sup>1</sup> Master in 1534.



other any of the brethered by the said mastir and wardines comandement schall assinge yow to cum, and ther to apier personalli, I wille redy if God will giwe yow licens (all fayned excusacons put apart). No man is helpe or counsaile I schall desire to resiste the mastir and wardines of the said yelde or fraternite neither yo<sup>r</sup> silfe to use rebellion nether to gyw counsail privey other apert therto agaynste the mastir or wardines of the saide yelde. Furder more I promitt by the vertu of the same othe that if it so chaunce that ther scholde rise any discorde fray other strif in worde or dede between master wardines and yow or any other brother of the saide fraternitie and yow also, then to abide the sayng of foure of the bretherne within the said yelde (all other mastres of the citie and inferiors with other craftis of the same to be excluded) as concerninge any disceñcon within the saide yelde. Allso I do promit by this boke othe to gyw and yelde with the saide fraternite painge quarterage all dewties multis peynes and fines put unto yowr charge by the saide mastir and wardines without any resistens or else to deliver a pledge to the valu of yowre offens or contempte committed by yow, and I do not lo: then by the mastir and wardynes comaundementis to take such correccōn within the warde of the newe gate<sup>1</sup> of Dublin, and ther to reste till they bring yow owt, and if I cum owt presumptuously of the saide warde without licens of mastir and wardines that then to pay twentie schillinges irische to the mastir and wardines and to the behoof of the yelde forsaide and so to go within y<sup>e</sup> new gate agayne till they bring yow forth oute. Moreover, if it so hap that I schold rebell and disobey mastir and wardines of the same yelde persevering in rebellion by the space of a monthe agaynste master and wardines then forthwith to be expelled by the saide mastir and wardines without any furder grace, and so to confesse your silfe giltie, and so not to use secret nethir opinli the Barbor's crafte within the citie of Dublin againe, and to close the dore and wyndowes of your schop, neghir to use yo<sup>r</sup> crafte then the tenor of the charter will permitte or suffer all the premissis and all articles within the boke or may depende of them to kepe and observe here I do swer so God yow helpe and this holy evangeliste as I schall answer the day of judgment before God and all the angelis of hewne."

At the end appears a note in Latin that this oath of the Barbers' gild or fraternity of St. Mary Magdalene was written by Barnaby Kelly, scribe, at the request of Thomas Grace, master, and of Henry Filch, late holder of that office, in the year 1535.

Any information regarding the gild during the latter half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century is of a very fragmentary character. Among admissions to the city franchise appear the names of the following Barbers:—1472–3, Richard Evyns; 1484, John Wricsam and Richard More; 1485, Makyne Kelly.

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<sup>1</sup> The common house of correction.



In the Pageant held on Corpus Christi Day, in the year 1498, the fraternity of Barbers were bound to appear as Annas and Caiaphas "well arranged according," under a penalty of 40s. in case of default. In the year 1557 the city assembly ordained that no foreign surgeon should receive his faculty within the franchises of Dublin without license of the master and wardens of the Barbers' and Surgeons' fraternity, so long as there were able surgeons among the citizens, save that the surgeon of any band of the king's army might cure any of his fellows who were hurt in the city.

At this period the surgeons had not been incorporated, and it was not until 1577 that they received their charter, when they became united with the Barbers' gild. Nevertheless, it is plain from the testimony afforded by the records that professors of the healing art had joined the latter from very early times. Barbers anciently acted as surgeons, notably in the matter of blood-letting. The pole over a barber's shop is said to have reference to this, as, for the purpose of keeping a patient's arm on the stretch during the process, it was usual for him to grasp a staff at full length. Sir Charles Cameron, in his "History of the Royal College of Surgeons," remarks on the probability of a large number of persons having practised surgery in the fifteenth century in Dublin, and notices that in King Henry's charter there is no reference to the Barbers' art being in any way distinct from that of the chirurgion. He thinks the two companies were united for purely medical purposes, and the original object in founding a fraternity of Barbers was for the promotion and exercise of chirurgery.

The record of proceedings commences in 1555, and from that date up to 1577, when the second charter was granted, the principal members of the gild, which at this period was small in point of numbers, appear to have been the following:—Stephen Cradocke, John Sampson, Hugh Ingram, Richard Umfrey, Denis Fleming, John Baker, Patrick Byctonne, Rowland Mery, Patrick Coyle, John Bird, Walter Naghten, Patrick Drynan, Thomas Newman, Alexander Dermott, William Kelly, Richard Egerton, Richard Luttrell. These all served as masters or wardens.

Prior to the date of Queen Elizabeth's charter there are few rules or regulations for the guidance of the gild entered; the earliest appearing is one of 10th June, 1569, which enacts that any brother enticing or procuring any customer from any other brother, or calling such into his shop, he knowing him to be a customer of any other brother, should forfeit 6s. 8d. for his conduct. Also a brother was not to intrude or take a cure out of another brother's hands, unless he had his licence therefor. In 1573 a law was made that no brother of the gild should henceforth keep a journeyman without licence of the master and wardens, on pain of forfeiting a noble for each occasion of making default.

On the 14th September, 1577 (19th Elizabeth) another charter<sup>1</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> A translation of this charter will be found at p. 60 of Sir Charles Cameron's "History of the Royal College of Surgeons."

granted to the fraternity, which, after reciting that of King Henry the Sixth, goes on to state that it is necessary for the preservation of health that the fraternity of Barbers should be more skilled in the art of surgery, and that there are two distinct societies exercising that art, namely, the Barbers and the Surgeons. The latter had not been incorporated, and accordingly William Kelly, Richard Egerton, Richard Luttrell, Stephen Cradock, Rowland Myrry, Walter Naghten, John Bride, Thomas Newman, and Patrick Drynan, surgeons of the city of Dublin, and all others to be admitted, are constituted for ever a society to be called the Gild of the Blessed Mary Magdalene of Dublin, with liberty to plead and to possess land and to have a common seal. Further, on the petition of the two bodies, the masters, wardens, and fraternity of Barbers, and the Society of Surgeons were henceforth to form one corporation, to be called the master, wardens, and fraternity of Barbers and Surgeons of the Gild of the Blessed Mary Magdalene in the city of Dublin. They might plead, &c., and have a common seal, and were to elect annually a master and two wardens, while they were to enjoy all other privileges granted by King Henry's charter. Any person exercising either art in the city or suburbs without being admitted under their common seal was to be liable to a penalty of 100*s.* a month while so offending. From an endorsement on the original charter now in the Library of Trinity College it appears that the liberties, privileges, and franchises contained therein were enrolled in the office of the Treasurer's Remembrancer and the Second Remembrancer of the Exchequer in Hilary Term, 1627 (3 Chas.I.). The following entries with regard to the above charter give the items of expense connected with obtaining it:—

Paid Thomas Dillon and Mr. Dormor, our learned counsellors,	
about the renewing of our charter, 30th April, 1577,	40 <i>s.</i>
„ Mr. Dormor's clerk for engrossing it, . . .	5 <i>s.</i>
„ Queen's serjeant and his clerk for writing the	
Fiant, . . . . .	10 <i>s.</i>
„ Parchment about same charter, . . .	5 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
(Eight skins of the largest sort.)	
„ for a veal skin to write the charter on, . . .	16 <i>d.</i>
„ for a book of gold to trim our charter, . . .	2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
„ for white and gold lace for same, . . .	3 <i>s.</i>
Great seal and writing of same, . . .	40 <i>s.</i>
Privy Signet, . . . . .	6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Registering said charter, . . . . .	12 <i>d.</i>
Box to keep our charter in, . . . . .	4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Hinges and clasps for same, . . . . .	18 <i>d.</i>
Lock and key, . . . . .	8 <i>d.</i>
To our learned counsel for perusing our charter, . . .	3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
(Mr. Serjeant Fitzsimones is to be 'ansured' for his learned counsel and for making and devising of our charter.)	

We have seen that the fraternity attended Divine Service on the patron saint's eve and day, but, in common with similar bodies, the members also celebrated the festival in a social manner. In 1572 the expenses amounted to 5*s.*; and when William Kelly took his oath breakfast cost 2*s.* In 1576 and 1577 the respective amounts were 5*s.* 1*d.* and 21*d.*

Richard Egerton, when master, in 1582, set out the items provided for entertainment as follows:—

Paid for a pottle of "seeke," Mary Maudlin Day at night,	
when I was made master, . . . . .	12 <i>d.</i>
Cakes, a Maudlin Eve, last past, . . . . .	2 <i>s.</i>
Rushes same night, . . . . .	4 <i>d.</i>
Two pounds cherries, . . . . .	8 <i>d.</i>
White wine and claret wine, . . . . .	16 <i>d.</i>
"Seeke," 1 quart, 6 <i>d.</i> ; more in ale, . . . . .	12 <i>d.</i>

On two occasions the gild was assessed at a certain rate, to contribute towards the maintenance of soldiers—once in 1576, in a sum of 19*s.* 1*d.*, and again in 1584, when 5*s.* were taken out of the box to pay the cess.

That the clause of the oath taken by the members as to their being prepared to take correction within the ward of the Newgate was no idle form of words is evident from a circumstance recorded to have taken place in 1577. Thomas Newman (whose offence is not indicated), who served as warden in 1575, and was a charter member of the society incorporated in 1577, was forcibly and against his will carried to the Newgate, where he lay with two pairs of bolts on his legs until he "reconciled himself" for the abuses he had committed against the master and wardens of his company. He acknowledged on his knees his folly and "lewdness," craving pardon for his misdemeanour, and had it not been for the suit of some honest friends, and his own pitiful submission, he would have been expelled the gild for ever.

There are entries of sums disbursed for arresting offenders; thus in 1572, that of William O'Moltollye, cost 3*d.*, and the taking of one Richard Morgho in 1573, 2*d.*, while the fee for entering an action against him was 4*d.* O'Moltollye gave trouble again in 1578, and on this occasion his arrest cost the gild 6*d.*, and entering action together with attorney's fees came to 16*d.* In 1582 John Cruse was paid 6*d.* for arresting one Pykring, and Nicholas Sedgrave charged 6*d.* for shutting John Morfee's shop. The form of oath bound members, if contumacious, to close the doors and windows of their shops; and sometimes when they proved refractory, no doubt it became necessary for the gild officers to see this carried out.

Certain entries, which, however, are undated, throw some light on the reasons for the arrest of O'Moltollye, and they make it plain that he must have engaged in the practice of the healing art without due



authority, not being a duly qualified member of the Barber-Surgeons' fraternity. The entries speak for themselves:—

"Item, that William O'Moltollye hath confessed that he did let one 'Sallomander' blude."

Said William did let one "Patrick Reade upon Oxmonton grene blude," as he confessed himself before me and my company.

"Item, that said William confessed he had one Patrick Crosbie in hand for which he had 30s., and left him in worse case than he found him.

"Said William did let one Fynine blude in the nose, and caused all his face and his head to swell and impostome, and if it had not fortunied my brother Rowland Mery to have him in, he had died of some mishap. The same man is a glower, and dwelled at the Bridge foot.

"Said William had one John Tallon his wife in hands, of a broken leg, and did set it crooked, and spoiled said Tallon's wife, that she was never able to do herself no good till she died."

These quaint entries serve to show that the gild had something to do in combating the intrusion of quackery into its lawful province towards the close of the sixteenth century.

There is an item under date 1582 which goes to prove that the members of the fraternity engaged in the practice of firearms; Richard Egerton, who was master this year, was said to owe 2s. 1d. for two pounds of powder, which he had of the master of the tailors; this powder was the property of the gild, which obtained it from the city. It seems probable that for defensive purposes the authorities had organized bands to be trained to the use of arms, and the members of the city companies would naturally form an integral portion of such.

In 1566<sup>1</sup> Thomas Smith, apothecary of Dublin, reported to Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, and to the Privy Council, that he had been "greatly hindered and in manner enforced to abandon his faculty, because his costly drugs and other apothecary wares" had remained unsold, as a number of the people of Irish birth preferred to make use of the ministry of their own leeches or physicians. Smith was made a special allowance by Government, that he might be the better enabled to provide fresh drugs, &c., to the needful and good help of such persons of English birth, and others of the "graver and civiller sort," as should desire them for ready money, whereby Smith might the better apply his study and diligence in that ministry, and the better to sustain himself alive."<sup>2</sup> Thomas Smith was mayor of Dublin in the year in which

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Ireland, vol. xviii., No. 36.

<sup>2</sup> A place on the north of St. Michael's Church, between Trinity-lane and the stone walls on the east, the priest's chamber on the west, and the wall of St. Michael's on the south, was assigned to Thomas Smith, apothecary, on the 12th August, 1574. This assignment included a cellar and buttery, furnaces, trough, &c., belonging to the premises. On 17th August, 1578, the Dean and Chapter of Holy Trinity leased to said Smith two houses on the north side of High-street, one of which was commonly called the Barber's shop ("Christ Church Deeds," Nos. 1340 and 1350).

Trinity College was founded by Queen Elizabeth, and the corporation having bestowed the grounds of All Hallows Monastery as a site, he laid the first stone of the buildings. It is interesting to find that even in Dublin the Celtic inhabitants still clung to their own physicians. In ancient times the great families in Ireland always had their own domestic medical attendants, whose office was hereditary, and who frequently held lands in return for medical services. The regulations in the Brehon Laws regarding them sufficiently attest the fact that medicine was recognised as a profession from an early period. Books which contained the symptoms of diseases, with appropriate remedies and cures, were treasured and handed down in the families of these old-time leeches. The O'Maras, physicians to the Kilkenny Butlers, were the first of the line of hereditary physicians who wrote medical works in Latin. The O'Cassidys were attached to the Maguires of Fermanagh, the O'Sheils to the MacCoghlans of the King's County, and their Book is in the Royal Irish Academy. The Book of the O'Lees, who were in the household of the O'Flahertys of West Connaught, is also preserved there. In 1575 Denis Collier was admitted a freeman of the city, in consideration of his having adventured his life in "this contagious time of plague," for attendance on the mayor and others. During this year a dreadful pestilence prevailed in Dublin, and so depopulated was the city that grass grew in some of the busiest thoroughfares. The lord deputy held his court at Drogheda, and the municipality met at Glassmenoge.<sup>1</sup> Collier became bound to reside in Dublin during his life, doing duty as well in time of plague as in all other seasons, receiving for fees what might be agreed on between his patients and himself, or according to what the mayor might reasonably order or award.

Nicholas Hickey, Doctor of Physic, who became a freeman in 1580, was a member of a family that had practised medicine for generations, some of whom (Sir John Gilbert says) left manuscripts on medical subjects written in the Irish language. In consideration of Dr. Hickey's making his abode in Dublin, he was to be paid a yearly sum of £10 by the city treasurer. His fee for view of a patient's water (such patient being a citizen) without a visit was to be 6*d.*; for a visit and view, 12*d.* He was to be at liberty, moreover, to agree to undertake a cure for a stipulated sum of money. The mayor had power to permit Hickey to journey three score miles outside the city, provided he returned within twelve days, and he was at liberty to go at any time a distance which would not prevent his getting back within twenty-four hours. Should the mayor himself send for him, he was to attend at once, under a penalty of losing half a year's stipend. This singular agreement only lasted about three years, Dr. Hickey being removed from

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<sup>1</sup> Census of Ireland, 1851, Part v., Table of Deaths (Report of Registrar-General and Dr. Wilde).

the service of the city in 1583, as the corporation had more occasion for the money expended on retaining him, as well for building as other purposes.

In the year 1579 another physician, Nicholas Uriell, also obtained his freedom on condition of his dwelling within the city during his life. In 1594 Richard Segerson, a barber-surgeon, obtained a term of sixty-one years in a little shop adjoining the great conduit or high pipe, at a rent of 30s. yearly, a way to said conduit being reserved for the purposes of cleaning and repair.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth a number of those who obtained the franchise of the city are described as apothecaries, though there is no mention of them in the Queen's charter to the Barber-Surgeons. This branch of the profession sprang up between 1577 and 1687, and a charter of James II. declares apothecaries to be an integral part of the latter, and it was not until 1745 that they became a separate body, being then incorporated as the gild of St. Luke.

In the oldest volume of the gild of Barbers, which ends about 1588, is copied a document, which, though addressed to the master and fraternity of the Tailors, would, no doubt, at times be directed to the other city gilds. Possibly, at the date of the document, the Barber-Surgeons may have formed a wing of the Tailors' Company, which would account for its being entered here:—

THESE are to wit and command you to be in readiness with the number of eight of the sufficient brethren of your corporation at 6 o'clock on Monday next in the morning, decently furnished with horses and other necessities befitting them with provision of victuals, to attend me in riding of the streams and creeks between this and Arklow Head, and from thence to the Nany water, "norwarde" hereof. You may not fail, as you will answer the contrary. At the Tholsel, 3d August, 1607. You must [send] me the note of their names that shall so attend me by Friday night next.

JOHN ARTHURE, Mayor of Dublin.

TO THE MASTER OF THE COMPANY OF  
TAILORS AND THEIR ASSOCIATION.

King Edward III., in 1375, had granted the Mayor, &c., of Dublin, all customs between Skerries and Arklow Head. In July, 1561, the city assembly noticed that injury was inflicted on the community by reason that the creeks and small roads within the limits of the liberties, *i.e.* from Arklow Head to Nunny water, were not diligently seen to. As a remedy, one of the city sheriffs was ordered to ride once in every quarter over the sea-coast where such liberty extended, for the purpose of searching out and enquiring into any trespass committed. The sheriff was to be accompanied on horseback by another, who had been sheriff, and two of the brethren of the Merchants' Company, the city bearing all



charges. If necessary, he might have a larger number in attendance, and any refusing to ride were to be liable to a penalty of 40s.

In 1581 Queen Elizabeth granted the mayor of Dublin to be admiral from Arklow to Nanny water, at the same time confirming all charters which had granted the office of admiralty, wheresoever the city sheriffs might receive custom between said bounds.

In 1587 the sheriffs were again ordered to ride the above sea-coast, and set customs, as had been wont, where occasion might arise.

At a meeting of the city assembly, held in July, 1607, it being shown that on account of the negligence of mayors in the past, the streams and coast (of which the mayor of the city is admiral) had not been ridden for a long time, it was decided that the ancient custom should be observed this summer. The foregoing summons would appear to have been issued in pursuance of this determination.

There is a gap in the records between 1588 and 1688, when the next volume commences, but some gleanings from other sources give us occasional glimpses of the gild during this period of a century. In 1627<sup>1</sup> the commons complained that the Barber-Surgeons, Glovers, and Fishmongers, with several other tradesmen, far beyond many of the other corporations in ability (*i.e.* in numbers and importance), were wont to join themselves to one or two of the eight corporations, who had little need of them; but by what authority was not known. By this means the "weaker sort" of corporations were injuriously affected when any cess was imposed, or loans raised, because the wealthy tradesmen bore little or none of the expense, and so a heavy burden fell on the petitioners. They prayed that those "wings" and tradesmen might either be united with poor corporations, who needed their assistance, or that they should be appointed to "attend their own charter." The assembly ordered that the mayor, recorder, and sheriffs should call before them the guilds of the Barber-Surgeons, Glovers, Fishmongers, and Saddlers, with a view to ascertain the facts, and if they found them not legally joined to any, they were to certify the board of aldermen, who had power to annex them to such companies as most stood in need of their assistance.

In 1634 a dispute between the Bakers and the Barber-Surgeons,<sup>2</sup> concerning their respective precedence in station on station days, which had been on several occasions before the assembly, was again brought forward, on the petition of the former. They alleged that the Barber-Surgeons were but a "wing," and prayed that a settled course might be laid down for the future. It was ordered that the Act already passed, and which was to be enforced under a penalty of £10, should be observed. What this ruling was does not appear, but in 1644 the matter again came on, and this time on petition of the Barber-Surgeons.<sup>3</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert's "Corporation Records," vol. iii., p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 425.

reference was made to the mayor, recorder, and sheriffs, empowering them to consider the charters of the respective claimants, and to settle their positions according to the "antiquities" of same. The decision was in favour of the Barbers; and the assembly then ordered that that corporation should have no relation or dependence on any other, but that it should bear all common charges and cesses in the city as a distinct body.

It seems strange that a Dublin barber should have been called on to give evidence on the trial of King Charles I.<sup>1</sup> His name was James Crosby, and his evidence was to the effect that in 1643 he saw the King riding from Newbury.

In the years 1650 and 1651 the plague appears to have been rife in Dublin again; and Dudley Russell, a surgeon, is found petitioning the city assembly<sup>2</sup> for a grant, under the following circumstances:—The late mayor, Raphael Hunt, had employed him to enquire of all persons infected with the plague in the city, and furnish a report on same, with a view to shutting doors and the prevention of further infection. To the great danger of his life, and his family's loss, the petitioner had discharged his trust for six months past, without remuneration, and in consideration of all the circumstances he was voted £5.

In July, 1666, William Bell and Thomas Lisle, surgeons,<sup>3</sup> showed that by the lord mayor's orders, they had, since Christmas, been employed in visiting, and searching for, any who had died suddenly, or of any disease suspected to be infectious, with a view to preventing the further spread of infection in the city. A grant of £5 each was made to them, and they were to continue in office until Michaelmas. Petty's Bills of Mortality give the number of burials in Dublin during the year 1666 as 1480.

The master and wardens of the Barber-Surgeons' gild presented a petition<sup>4</sup> to James, Duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant, in 1678, setting forth that Walter Prendergast, an ancient brother, had been chosen warden for the ensuing year, but being unwilling, as a Roman Catholic, to take the oath of supremacy, owing to certain rules established by act of State, on 21st September, 1672, he was rendered incapable of serving the corporation in that capacity without His Grace's dispensation. They prayed that, as he was well known to be a sober citizen, he might have such a dispensation; and, on a certificate of John Smith, lord mayor, Ormond dispensed Prendergast from this particular oath, on condition of his subscribing the other declarations.

On 10th February, 1687, King James II. granted a charter<sup>5</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Trial of King Charles I., quoted in Gilbert's "History of Dublin."

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert's "Corporation Records," vol. iv., p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 380.

<sup>4</sup> Holiday Collection of Deeds and Documents, Royal Irish Academy.

<sup>5</sup> Copy of this charter is at p. 70, Cameron's "History of the Royal College of Surgeons."



the fraternity, His Majesty being willing to renew the corporation of Barbers, of which Barber-Surgeons, "apothecaries, and periwig-makers," were members. Patrick Archbold was to be the first master, and Robert White and William Cox the first wardens. The following were named as the first brethren:—William, Earl of Limerick, John Barnewell, Robert Barnewell, Richard Archbold, Christopher Cruce, Thomas Conner, William Garvan, Patrick Fitzpatrick, physicians and readers of anatomy; Charles Thompson, Henry Walker, Patrick Bath, John Seamar, George Byrne, Richard Purcell, Morgan Kennedy, William Heydon, Robert Archbold, Robert Bellew, Thomas Clare, Stephen Archbold, junior, Stephen Clinton, Stephen Clayton, Robert Witherall, Kenny Prendergast, Dominick Ryan, John Clayton, George Gernon, Francis Dempsey, Richard Nugent, Redmond Tyrrell, and Maurice Lomorgan.

The next volume of the gild records, now extant, commences 22nd July, 1688, and is entitled a *Book of Entry of Foreigners and Quarterages*. It opens with a list of brethren—Barber-Surgeons, apothecaries, and wig-makers, and, in addition to the foregoing names, the following appear:—Josias Paterson, Robert Bolton, John Gregson, Henry Dornan, Patrick Halpin, John Dowdall, Christopher Hussey, Richard Pasmore, William McEvoy, Thomas Savage, Daniel O'Mullan, Felix Reilly, Richard Begg, George Pasco, John Shaw, Thomas Bath, John Renton, Redmond Terrill, Thomas St. John, Bartholomew Dowdall, Nicholas Stephens, William Neile, Morgan Maghan, and Thomas Clare.

In 1692, and for some time after, a number of the brethren were classed in the lists as *Romans* or *Roman* brethren.<sup>1</sup>

There is no precise evidence as to the meeting-places of the gild during the first two centuries of its existence. In 1661 it obtained a lease for sixty-one years of the Pole-gate (which was situated at the southern extremity of Werburgh-street), at a rent of £5 and a couple of capons to the mayor, guarding the portcullis-room in seasons of danger to the city. The company must have used the gate before the date of this lease; for in 1664<sup>2</sup> it is found affirming that even *prior* to the late rebellion (1641) £80 had been disbursed on the premises, which was lost by reason of the troubles, when the house became a prison. The Pole-gate was a two-storied tower, 46 feet in height, and the upper storey was a room only 14 feet square. A representation of the gate faces p. 29 of Sir Charles Cameron's "History of the Royal College of Surgeons." In 1664 the premises were required for His Majesty's service, for the use of the guard, and an order was made that there was to be no

<sup>1</sup> From the fact that in an account dated 1702-3, the entry, "since y<sup>e</sup> Break of y<sup>e</sup> Boyn," appears opposite the names of two of them, it seems probable that these brethren were Roman Catholics.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert's "Corporation Records," vol. iv., p. 90.



liability to rent until the premises were restored. Whether the Crown's occupation was temporary or not does not appear, and the records afford no indication of the meeting-place of the gild for a number of years. In July, 1692, John Cleevely, a mountebank, paid £2 9s. for leave to erect his stage, which proves that at this time a fixed hall had been provided, which the gild was able to sublet for public purposes. In 1697 occurs an entry to the effect that Patrick Ward paid rent for the hall, and money for the dinners of the corporation; and a little later on their "common hall" is mentioned as being in Smock-alley.<sup>1</sup> In 1740 and in 1744 the gild was meeting in the Tailors' Hall in Back-lane.<sup>2</sup> In 1759, a resolution was passed that the master and wardens might agree for such hall in the city as they should think proper; but nothing further on the subject appears in the books. Between 1750 and 1770 the brethren adjourned for committees, or on festival occasions, to the following taverns, as appears in the transactions:—Rose and Bottle, Dame-street; Rose, Castle-street; Bull's Head, Fishamble-street; Flying Horse, Mountrath-street; Elephant, Essex-street; Phoenix, Werburgh-street; Three Stags' Heads, Eustace-street; Carteret's Head, Castle-street; Hoop, Cork Hill; and the King's Arms, Fownes-street.

A warrant from the Lord Mayor was received in August, 1703, announcing that a dinner was to be given to the Duke of Ormond on the 12th of that month at St. Stephen's-green. Each brother was ordered to pay a sum of 3s. towards the dinner, for which sum, in addition to dinner, he would receive a bottle of wine. It was also enacted that any failing to appear at the master's house, under arms and in best apparel, to march with him, were to be fined 10s.

Only two notices relative to the old city custom of riding the Franchises appear. In July, 1713, those who attended the lord mayor on the occasion were to pay 4s.; those who failed to do so were to incur a fine of 10s. In 1731 the gild was instructed to ride in the same dress, with Tye perukes and long cravats, as usual. *Faulkner's Journal* of 1st August, 1767, states that the Barbers' gild perambulated the city, when its colours were purple, cherry, and red, while those of the Apothecaries' Company were purple and orange.

In 1701 the Recorder was paid a retainer of £1 3s., and the Solicitor-General £2 8s. 6d. as a fee for prosecuting certain persons who "worked up horse hair and other unlawful hair," and by the year 1718 the members of the gild appear to have been aroused to a pitch of indignation against certain nefarious practices in that line. Now that wigs have ceased to be a necessary article of clothing, we can hardly be expected

<sup>1</sup> This lay at the reer of Blind-quay, and in the Hall of the Smiths here meetings of clubs, gilds, and Freemasons were held.

<sup>2</sup> Erected 1706, and being one of the largest public rooms in Dublin prior to the building of Fishamble-street Music Hall, it became the meeting-place of various gilds. A representation of the exterior of the Hall faces p. 87 of Sir Charles Cameron's "History of the College of Surgeons."

to sympathise with a fulmination like the following : — “ Whereas great frauds are committed in Dublin by divers persons who sell hairs therein, by mixing together hairs cut off several heads, though of different colours, mixing bleached hairs, horse hairs, and live hairs together, and by giving false colours to hairs, by dipping and dyeing same, &c., to the great abuse of the brethren of this corporation in particular and the wearers of wigs in general. It is ordered that all such persons, sellers, hawkers, and retailers of hair, acting as aforesaid, be proceeded against with the utmost severity.” It is to be hoped that the miscreants here described met with condign punishment! Some years later a committee was appointed to enquire into abuses committed by barbers and periwig-makers in the city, who made a practice of shaving customers and dressing wigs on the Lord’s Day, with the result that such conduct became a subject for fines.

In 1713 it was resolved that no master was to hold office for more than two years successively, but two years later this enactment was repealed. In 1729 a new procedure with regard to elections to office in the gild was sought to be established; three surgeons were to be nominated for the mastership, one peruke-maker and one apothecary were to be elected wardens. On the next occasion three apothecaries were to be nominated for the former post, while one peruke-maker and one surgeon were to serve as wardens. For the third year, the master was to be elected from among three peruke-makers, and the wardens were to be an apothecary and a surgeon. This triennial system must have been found unworkable, as the order authorizing it was repealed within a few months. By a rule, passed in 1747, members of the fraternity were permitted to wear their hats on all occasions in Hall, save when addressing the chair. Breaches of good taste during meetings of the gild were punished severely, as it appears that Thomas Lawler was suspended during a sitting in August, 1715, for uttering scandalous words and casting reflections on His Grace the Duke of Marlborough. On Lawler’s submission, some months later, he was readmitted.

The gild of Merchants appear to have sought to invade the rights of the Barbers’ corporation in 1715, in what particulars is not recorded, and the master, Thomas Collins, had a special vote of thanks passed to him for his great zeal in defending them against this powerful body.

In 1761 James Grattan, Recorder of Dublin, father of the illustrious Henry Grattan, was elected a freeman. A motion for conferring the freedom of the gild on Sir James Caldwell, baronet, count of the Holy Roman Empire, was brought forward in 1764, and passed. The grounds adduced for this distinction were his patriotic spirit in raising a troop of Horse at his own expense in the service of his king and country, during the late war. Lieut.-Colonel William Howe<sup>1</sup> had a similar honour paid

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards fifth Viscount Howe. He commanded a battalion in Wolfe’s expedition against Quebec.

him on account of the loyalty and valour of his illustrious family, and the particular exertion of his extraordinary talents as a soldier and commander in the conquest of Canada.

The freedom of the gild was conferred, in 1768, on another distinguished Irishman, James, Duke of Leinster.<sup>1</sup> The fraternity resolved that it was to be accompanied by the "compliment of one of the emblems of the corporation, namely, the Free Razor of Liberty."

Probably the most distinguished and best-known man connected with the Barber-Surgeons during the eighteenth century was the patriotic Charles Lucas. He became warden in 1741-2, and was master during 1744-5 and 1745-6, and again 1748-9. In January, 1744, as a public acknowledgment of the pure zeal and great fidelity of their master, and in consideration of his extraordinary labour and assiduity in attempting to revive the ancient and most excellent constitution of the city by restoring the just powers and privileges of the commons and citizens, as well by his constant, watchful care and faithful counsels in the city as by his open remonstrances and strenuous solicitations in the Courts of Law, Lucas was decreed a gold signet ring or a silver box (whichever he should approve) with the arms of the corporation and a suitable inscription. The article for presentation was to be manufactured by a free brother of the Goldsmiths' Company, and it was to be held by the recipient as a lasting mark of gratitude. Dr. Lucas chose the ring. In 1750 a pamphlet designated "scandalous" in the proceedings of the gild, which pamphlet was entitled "An Examination of the facts and a detection of the impudent falsehoods and gross misrepresentations contained in a pamphlet entitled 'A critical review of the liberties of British subjects,'" was published in Dublin, having been first printed in London. In this pamphlet the twenty-one corporations of Dublin were said to be traduced and vilified, and the Barber-Surgeons resolved, as far as they were concerned, to prosecute the writer with the utmost rigour. Their action and motives in presenting Lucas with a vote of thanks and a ring having been called in question, they placed it on record that the sole reason for paying him this compliment was their sense of his services to all friends of liberty, and his attachment to the rights of the city against the encroachments of the Board of Aldermen. When Lucas afterwards, in 1761, became a candidate for the representation of Dublin, he and his colleague, Colonel James Dunn, specially addressed the members of the gild.

From about 1730, the number of surgeons in the fraternity was rapidly becoming less. In 1742, when each surgical brother had already filled the warden's chair, it became necessary to instal therein a barber, such chair having heretofore been always occupied by a surgeon, when the master for the year was a barber. From the time that the Company

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<sup>1</sup> He was twentieth Earl of Kildare, and was created Duke of Leinster in 1766. His Grace was father of Lord Edward Fitz Gerald.



of Apothecaries was formed,<sup>1</sup> in 1745, the proceedings of the Barber-Surgeons became void of interest. The brethren were nearly all barbers, with the addition of a few others who had political objects in view in becoming members; and that the practising surgeons in Dublin felt keenly their incorporation with Barbers is evident from the terms of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Dublin Society of Surgeons<sup>1</sup> which was formed in 1780. The meeting was held at the King's Arms, Smock-alley, June 1, 1780, and the resolution was as follows:—"Resolved: That in the opinion of this Committee a royal charter dissolving the preposterous and disgraceful union of the Surgeons of Dublin with the Barbers, and incorporating them separately and distinctly upon liberal and scientific principles, would highly contribute not only to their own emolument, and the advancement of the profession in Ireland, but to the good of society in general, by cultivating and diffusing surgical knowledge." In 1784 the bond which united barbers and surgeons was finally severed by the establishment of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland.

The records from which the greater portion of the foregoing has been derived, together with the silver seal of the gild and the grant of arms made by Ulster, are now deposited in the manuscript-room of the Library of Trinity College. They were found by the late Dr. William D. Moore in possession of Mr. Michael Farrell, of Harcourt-road, the last master appointed, prior to the dissolution of the gilds. Having made some use of the volumes of proceedings in his "History of Pharmacy in Ireland," Dr. Moore presented all in 1849 to Trinity College. His action cannot be too highly commended, and the example set by him might well be followed by others who have custody of records of this kind, which are liable to fall into careless hands and become lost to posterity. Dr. Abbott's catalogue of the manuscripts in Trinity College Library (Item No. 1447) contains the following list of contents of the box lodged by Dr. Moore:

1. Charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1577.
2. Grant of arms by Ulster, 1645.
3. Charter of James II., 1687.
4. Three Freemen's Rolls (Memb.).
5. Silver seal of the corporation, 1673.
6. Book for enrolment of apprentices and journeymen, 1578-1588.  
(This volume contains entries and accounts from 1535.)
7. Book of Quarterage and Entry of Foreigners, 1688-1702.  
(This volume also contains bonds, 1692-1704.)
8. Minute-books, 1703-1756; 1757-1791; 1792-1826; 1826-1841.
9. Book of Bonds, 1735-1736.
10. Book of list of Brothers, 1758-1781.
11. Roll Book, 1827-1840.

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<sup>1</sup> Cameron's "History of the College of Surgeons," p. 111.

In 1874, Mr. Maurice Lenihan, of Limerick, at a meeting of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, exhibited what was said to be the seal of the Barber-Surgeons' Gild of Limerick, and this seal is figured in the *Journal*.<sup>1</sup> It is described as being of brass,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, the matrix not older than the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. The arms are the same as those granted to the Barber-Surgeons of Dublin, and the following legend ran round the seal:—"The arms of the Barber-Chirurgians or Gild of St. Mary Magdalene granted by Henry VI." The Limerick Gild, which had a master and two wardens, was constituted by the municipal corporation. Cork also had a gild which was early incorporated by the city authorities. In 1732<sup>2</sup> a bill was preferred against the Barbers' Company by some "refractory" persons, and the matter having been brought before the corporation of Cork on 23rd August in that year, it was decided to support the company in their ancient rights, and Mr. Russell Wood, attorney, was appointed to assist in endeavouring to preserve them.

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. xiii., p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> Caulfield's "Council Book of the Corporation of Cork."

## LIST OF MASTERS AND WARDENS, 1534-1760.

*Compiled from the Records of the Gild.*

YEAR.	MASTERS.	WARDENS.
1534.	Henry Filch.	
1535.	Thomas Grace.	
1555.	Stephen Cradock.	John Sampson, Hugh Ingram.
1557-8.	Stephen Cradock.	John Sampson, John Baker.
1559.	John Sampson.	John Baker, Patrick Bicton.
1563-4.	John Sampson.	John Baker, Patrick Bicton.
1564-5.	Denis Fleming.	John Baker, Patrick Bicton.
1565-6.	John Baker.	Richard Umpherye, Rowland Mery.
1566-7.	John Baker.	Richard Umfrey, Rowland Mery.
1567-8.	Stephen Cradock.	Patrick Coyle, John Bryd.
1568-9.	Patrick Bicton.	Patrick Coulle, Rowland Merye.
1569-70.	Stephen Cradock.	Patrick Coyll, Roland Merye.
1570-1.	Richard Umfrey.	John Berd, Walter Naghton.
1571-2.	Patrick Coyll.	Walter Naghten, Patrick Drynane.
1572-3.	Roland Mery.	Patrick Drynan, Richard Egerton.
1573-4.	Stephen Cradock.	William Kelly, Patrick Drynan.
1574-5.	Walter Naughten.	Roland Merry, Richard Egerton.
1575-6.	Patrick Coyll.	Thomas Newman, Richard Luttrell.
1576-7.	William Kelly.	Richard Egerton, Richard Luttrell.
1577-8.	William Kelly.	Richard Egerton, Patrick Drynan.
1578-9.	Richard Egerton.	
1580-1.	William Kelly.	
1582-3.	Richard Egerton.	Patrick Drynane, Richard Luttrell.
1583-4.	Patrick Drynane.	John Morphin, Richard Luttrell.
1584-5.	Walter Naghten.	John Morphin.
1588.	John Morphin.	Patrick Welsh.
	(Records deficient.)	
1678-9.		Walter Prendergast.
1688-9.	Patrick Archbold.	Robert White, William Cock.
1689-90.	Patrick Archbold.	Robert White, Stephen Clynton.
1693-4.	Robert Witherell.	John Shaw, Thomas Johnson.
1694-5.	Valentine Gill.	John Hecklefield, Richard Hughs (afterwards Timothy Edge, in place of Hecklefield).
1695-6.	John Stephens.	Thomas Browne, James St. Lawrence.
1696-7.	Robert Jeaye.	John Benton, George Johnson.
1697-8.	John Shaw.	Gabriel Vivan, Richard Dobbs.
1698-9.	Alderman Chas. Thompson.	William Partington, Edward Minchin.
1699-1700.	Richard Hughs.	James Temple, William Fleming.
1700-1.	Francis Cooke.	John Freeman, Robert Gauthropp.
1701-2.	Edward Minchin.	John Follitt, Richard Eastcourt.
1702-3.	George Johnson.	Thomas Shaw, Walter Peter.
1706-7.	Walter Birdsome.	John Walker, George Walton.
1707-8.	William Breach.	Richard Thompson, Samuel Steele.
1708-9.	John Webb.	George Johnson, John Brookes.
1711-12.	George Johnson.	Hugh Shaw.
1712-13.	John Brookes.	John Wright, Thomas Lawler.
1713-14.	John Brookes.	John Stanton, Hugh Colvill.



YEAR.	MASTERS.	WARDENS.
1714-15.	Thomas Collins.	Edward Jesson, John Medcalfe.
1715-16.	Thomas Collins.	Thomas Boulger, James Lindsey.
1716-17.	John Wright.	Chidly Freeman, Alex <sup>r</sup> Makay.
1717-18.	John Wright.	John Smith, John Galbraith.
1718-19.	Richard Thompson.	John Conliff, William Lisle.
1719-20.	Thomas Collins.	John Conliff, William Lisle.
1720-1.	Thomas Bolger.	Michael Kearney, Francis Green.
1721-2.	John Stanton.	Peter Butler, Robert Curtis.
1722-3.	Chidley Freeman.	Edward Smith, Thomas Tyte.
1723-4.	William Lisle.	Platt Phillips, John Murdough.
1724-5.	Francis Castell.	Thomas Rosse, Richard Bell.
1725-6.	Michael Kearney.	William Savage, Thomas Boulger.
1726-7.	Francis Green.	Henry Etherington, Richard Kingsberry.
1727-8.	John Conliffe.	Richard Marsh.
1728-9.	Thomas Tyte.	Adam Love, Samuel Stanton.
1729-30.	Samuel Parks.	Robert Hunter, James Reynolds.
1730-1.	Samuel Parks.	— Meager, Hugh Geoghegan.
1731-2.	Thomas Rosse.	William Edwards, Matthew Howard.
1732-3.	Thomas Rosse.	Richard Dobbs, William Husband.
1733-4.	Walter Peter.	William Cowan, Charles Eaton.
1734-5.	William Brownly.	William Cowan, Thomas Downes.
1735-6.	William Husband.	Joshua Lamprey, William Cowan.
1736-7.	Edward Smith.	Bryan McCabe, Richard Cox.
1737-8.	Edward Smith.	Bryan McCabe, Richard Cox.
1738-9.	John Sankey.	Michael Cudmore, John Banks.
1739-40.	Anthony Chapman.	Edward Crilliot, Christ <sup>r</sup> Stockdill.
1740-1.	Thomas Downes.	Joseph Wallis, Hugh Gregg.
1741-2.	Thomas Downes.	Charles Lucas, Hugh Gregg.
1742-3.	John Banks.	Ebenezer Shackleton, Boyle Magrath.
1743-4.	William Thompson.	John Barron, Richard Bryan.
1744-5.	Charles Lucas.	David Peter, James Montgomery.
1745-6.	Charles Lucas.	John Roe, James Nicholson.
1746-7.	David Peter.	William Crawford, William Kelly.
1747-8.	Bryan McCabe.	John Miller, John Roe, junior.
1748-9.	Charles Lucas.	Thomas Wood, Thomas Reader.
1749-50.	William Crawford.	Daniel Grant, George Callaghan.
1750-1.	William Crawford.	James Craige, Henry Kirk.
1751-2	Hugh Gregg.	William Franks, James Orr.
		(Franks deposed for non-attendance, and 13th Jan., 1752, William Frazer elected in his room.)
1752-3.	James Montgomery.	Thomas Wallis, Walter Goold.
1753-4.	James Montgomery.	Thomas Clarke, Joseph Ravenscroft.
1754-5.	Henry Kirk.	James Purcell, George Kavanagh.
1755-6.	John Miller.	Matthew Stafford, William Fielding.
1756-7.	William Kelly.	Charles Parkes, John Morrison.
1757-8.	Thomas Wood.	Henry Mullin, Richard Jesson.
1758-9.	James Craige.	Samuel Hope, George Venner.
1759-60.	Richard Bryan.	Samuel Cox, James Black.
	(Richard Bryan removed, and 14th Jan., 1760, Charles Parks elected in his stead.)	

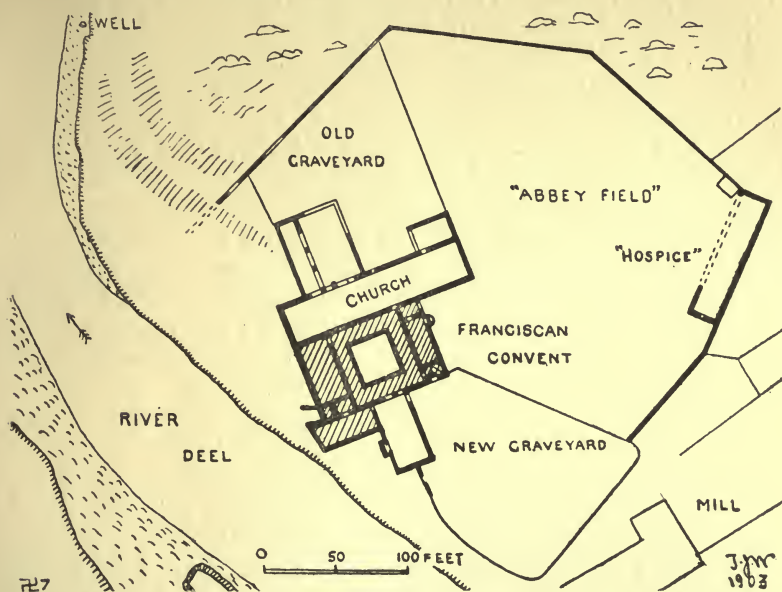
## NOTES ON ASKEATON, COUNTY LIMERICK.

## PART III.—THE “ ABBEY.”

BY THOMAS J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

*(Continued from page 174.)*

THE topography of Askeaton next calls for our attention, and though the subject, treated so technically as in this Paper, may prove unattractive to general readers, I hope it may be of value to students of the monastic antiquities of Ireland.



ASKEATON ABBEY—PLAN OF PRECINCT.

Askeaton lies over two miles from the mouth of the little river Deel, in the barony of Lower Connello, and County of Limerick. It will be remembered that the long reach of the County Limerick is divided naturally into three divisions by the Deel and Mague, which rising not far from each other, near Milford, on the border of County Cork, flow northward into the Shannon. Strange to say these most obvious natural boundaries have not been used either in ecclesiastical or civil divisions.

The Deel pours over a ridge of rocks into a rather deep narrow gorge, and directly below the fall of Eas Geibhthine lies the island called Iniskefty, or (if our theory be true) Inis Geibhthine. The old bridge crosses the Deel, touching the northern end of the castle island. There was another island near Askeaton covered with bushes; possibly it has been reclaimed into the western bank in the flat reach opposite the "Abbey." The latter building stands on sloping ground, the summit of which lies to the north of the ruins, which are about 1000 yards to the north of the castle. Opposite, and nearly eastward from the fortress, on higher ground stands the ancient church of St. Mary of Iniskefty.

#### THE FRANCISCAN CONVENT.

The ruins of the convent are of great interest, and (with the exception of the angle of the transept and portions of the sacristy and hospice) are in fair preservation. It is a large block of buildings which (with its projecting wings) measures 179 feet north and south, and 127 feet east and west, the walls being usually 4 feet thick. It stands in a walled field sloping steeply towards the south-west and the river Deel.

The BELFRY.—One very important feature has left no trace of its existence or destruction. The "*Pacata Hibernia*," in a sketch made before 1599, probably before 1584, shows a massive and lofty belfry.<sup>1</sup> So generally accurate is this old drawing in its other details that we are forced to conclude that either in or to the north of the church (opposite to where the battlements stop on the south wall) stood this great tower. No trace can now be found to warrant the one uncorroborated feature of the older artist. Some have fancied that they found its remains in the fallen masses of the transept, but I have (at least) satisfied myself that these belong to that part of the church, as they retain parts of windows and cornices identical with those in the remaining walls, and even the angle of the transept is found among the blocks. I can only suggest from the analogy of a number of other convents that the belfry was an after-thought, standing within but not bonded into the walls of the church; that it was destroyed for the safety of the castle; that the monks entirely removed its débris when they partly restored the church (between 1643 and 1650), when, of course, it left no mark on the wall; and that it possibly stood at a blank spot from 35 feet to 45 feet from the east end, which would leave a nave 70 feet long, and tally well with other monasteries. The corbels in this blank wall may be of later insertion, or may have been simply embedded in the belfry piers.

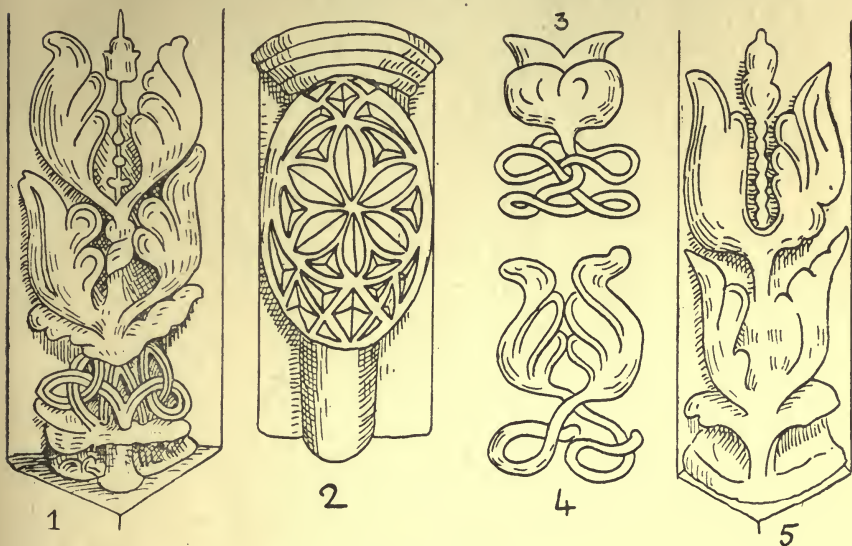
The view in "*Pacata Hibernia*" shows the belfry as a massive tower rising for four stories above the battlements of the church. If the artist could be trusted, the proportion compared with the height would be unusually thick. It has a south door opening on the battle-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 158, *supra*.



mented gutter of the church. There are windows in the centre of each face—two in line being to the west, and three to the south; while in the top story, above a string course, two windows appear with double lights; above them are the battlements, three steps to each face, and a small turret at the south-east angle.

The CHURCH.—The church is now open for its full length, 118 feet 6 inches by 23 feet. The architecture is of that very pleasing, though simple, Gothic which is found in Adare and Rathkeale, in its neighbourhood, and not a few others of our western convents. Most of it seems rather late for the date 1389 to 1420, but, perhaps, this merely implies



ASKEATON ABBEY.

1, 5. Carvings on North Door of Cloister. 2. Carved fragment; 3, 4, on Sacristy Window.

the existence of more conservative masons in other monasteries. The styles in western Ireland are frequently found to have been maintained for fifty or one hundred years later than in other parts of the British Isles. Perhaps Askeaton may be exceptional.

The eastern end is lighted by a large window with four shafts, simply interlacing without cusps or heading-pieces.<sup>1</sup> The splay is large, pointed, and simply moulded. Above it is a plain small oblong light, which evidently lit a loft above the ceiling, and outside which is a narrow passage crossing the gable inside the battlements. The gable and the side wall to the south are decorated with bold three-stepped battlements, with excellent effect. The altar remains and is devoid of

<sup>1</sup> See view, p. 32, *supra*.

ornament. Tradition doubtfully says that the Stephensons removed the older altar, and made a burial-place beneath it. They do not appear as anti-monastic devastators in the records.

There were numerous curious fragments upon it when I examined the ruins in 1886-1887, but they have been removed, and some were not forthcoming in 1902. One figure in a pleated robe and a prim cap was interesting for its apparently late date. Another tablet had the letters "HIC . . . S. GEN . . . DOR. UT . . . 1642," and belonged to the Stephenson inscription given below, in which we include it.

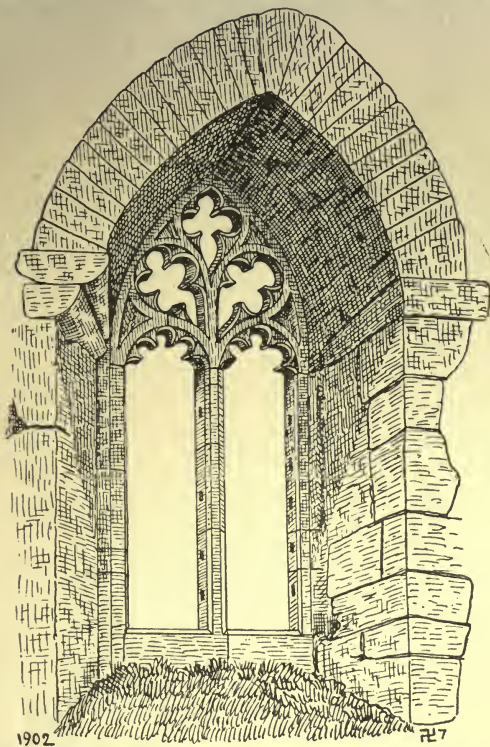
Examining the north wall from the east, we note the following features:—A plain pointed door leading into the sacristy. A round arch, forming a high shallow recess, probably once adorned with frescoes, lies to either side of the door. Near the corner is a little figure of a bishop with a rich mitre, and his right hand raised in blessing, his left hand holds a crosier with the crook turned outwards. It was traditionally "St. Patrick," in 1875; the hem of the vestments, being in folds, was supposed to represent the serpents. A slab ornamented with a quatrefoil diaper lies before the sacristy door. Westward we find a handsome window with a single shaft and decorated tracery (the heads being cinquefoil and the opes quatrefoil) of the same period as that in the Banqueting Hall of the castle. To the west of this a pointed door opens into a curious little skew passage lit by an oblong slit, and roofed with large slabs; it leads into the transept, and was closed when I first planned the ruin. In the wall before it is a sedile of the usual low broad-arched type (with an ogee-hood, crockets, and finals) so often seen in Munster convents of the fifteenth century. The two arches of



ASKEATON ABBEY.  
CARVING IN CHANCEL.

the transept stand next to this; they are pointed, with a chamfered rib resting on corbels at the side piers, which are square. The central pier is circular with a plainly moulded capital and a small engaged shaft at the back. Inside we find neatly corbelled blind arches to the side of the open arches. A window, with two interlacing shafts, lies near the west gable, which has a similar window, but with one shaft broken. Tradition said in 1875 that the west wing had been wrecked by one of "Cromwell's" cannon from across the Deel. Outside and below the window is the peaked weather-ledge of a porch; some trace of a door (but probably closed and plastered over even in monastic times) is seen inside. The vault of the Dwyer family, dated 1789, lies in the north-west corner of the church. It bears their arms, a lion rampant, and the motto, "Pass me, for I am strength."

O'Donovan copies the Driscoll tablet on the west wall, and translates the Irish verses upon it.<sup>1</sup> "This monument was erected by John O'Driscoll, in memory of his father Edmund Driscoll, who departed Jan. 3rd, 1780, aged 45 years; and also Edmond Driscoll, who departed



ASKEATON ABBEY CHURCH—WINDOW IN NORTH WALL.

Nov. 15th, 1798. Requiescat in pace. Amen. Cut by Pat Nunan." Then he translates the Irish as:—

"Alas, O flag! good is thy treasured-up companion,  
Though strong is man, he must be one day weak in the clay.  
There is no lord or chief in [the enjoyment of] action, leap, or agility,  
And the Shannon is barren since Edmond was laid under thee."

He finds fault with the poetry and grammar, and quotes appositely enough:—

"With uncouth rhymes and shapeless sculpture decked,  
Implores the passing tribute of a sigh."

The south wall, beginning at the eastern end, displays the following features:—An elaborate range of sedilia, some of a rather late appearance.

<sup>1</sup> Ordnance Survey Letters, Limerick, MSS. R.I.A., 14. E. 9.



The first three arches have semicircular heads and spiral shafts, with an unusual straight moulding, with spiral fluting to the sides and top. The arches have been partly filled up. Above them is an epigram in raised letters strangely varied, and reading:—"D.O.[M.] | Nobilissimo D. RICHARDO Stephenson eius filio D. Olive | ro Stephenson ac posteris



ASKEATON ABBEY—STEPHENSON MONUMENT AND SEDILIA.

suis hoc bustum fieri fecer | unt D. Margarita ni Brien et D: Elinora Browne Año dñi 1646." Above this are a plain half-fallen plinth and a low-moulded arch, the space under it relieved by two ornamental plaques. A decorated side buttress with a finial remains, also a plain

and fluted cornice and the words (supplying in italics the portions on a missing block) :—"Epitaphium<sup>1</sup> ch(*ronograp*)hicum | hic Oliverus ine (*st genitu*)s genitorque Richar(*dus*) | Stephenson Cl(*eri can*)dor Ut | erque choro est (*Ano*)1642." Half of the upper portion has fallen, having been built but not bonded into a gap broken into the window pier. The three next arches are plain, with simple effective capitals and bases. Above them is a window with two interlacing shafts and trefoil-headed main lights. Three more arches, forming in all nine sedilia, and two more windows, each with two shafts simply interlacing, bring us to the nearly blank space already noted. Not far away lies a tomb with a late Calvary cross, with fine foliage budding from its shaft.

We then find a plain pointed door leading by a skew passage into the north-east angle of the cloister. Then three sedilia, similar to the northern one, which is opposite to them. The first is set in a high closed arch, evidently older than the present cloister, being much higher than its vault; the middle one has been defaced and built up, while the third has a strangely distorted arch. On the site of the eastern sedile are heaped many fragments probably of a canopied tomb along with the bosses and ribs of a small groined roof, and two seated figures, one, St. Catherine, holds a sword and wheel. Parts of the panelling have trefoil borders ending in foliage, and are, perhaps, the sides of an altar-tomb; others have crockets with conventional foliage dating from about 1460 to 1480. There is no slight resemblance in some of these to the tomb of More ni Brien, of the same date, in Ennis Abbey. As MacMahon, her husband, put up a tomb in Askeaton Convent, we may suggest that these belonged to it, or (from their manifestly more than accidental dilapidation) to the monument of James Earl of Desmond, deliberately wrecked by the iconoclastic English soldiers. Another pointed door opens back into the church from the cloister. The carvings on its base are figured; near it lies a table slab with the date 1634.<sup>2</sup> A shapeless gap, now closed, opened into the Chapter Room so-called.

The SACRISTY.—This lies to the north of the chancel; it measures 24 feet by 11 feet 5 inches wide. The lower story is covered by a broken semi-vault turned over wicker. At the east end is a two-light pointed window. The shaft and part of the heads have been removed. There are knots and leaves carved on the base of the splay, which has a segmental pointed arch. There is an ambry in the north wall, and next to it a perfect fireplace and chimney-shaft. The upper story has a perfect east window with two ogee-headed lights and a flat splay. The west wall has fallen.

The TRANSEPT.—This consists of a main wing and western side aisle, separated by a colonnade of two arches and a half one which brings the whole thrust against the wall over the western arch into the church—a very weak and clumsy feature. The interior is 59 feet long; the

<sup>1</sup> The letters in italics are supplied from Rev. J. Dowd's "Round About County Limerick."

<sup>2</sup> Called "the side altar."



divisions are respectively 20 feet 10 inches and 9 feet 9 inches wide. The north windows are destroyed; only the left splay of the main window remains. Three double-light windows with ogee heads remain in the west wall. In the north wall near the door of the skew passage is a window of the late and ugly type which occurs in Kilmallock and elsewhere, the lower part having two round-headed lights, with a flat top to the head pieces, through which rise expanding ribs. The shaft and central block are now lost. An almost shapeless recess opens under



ASKEATON ABBEY CHURCH—WEST END AT TRANSEPT.

(From a Photograph by Mr. T. F. Geoghegan.)

the sill, near which, in the face of the wall stones, are square slots, which, with other slots in the north-west corner and in the upper rooms, suggest a studding to bear a timber lining. A rude ambry in the splay further disfigures the window. The more northern window has nearly vanished, along with 23 feet of wall, and half the north gable and window. The huge fragments lie heaped in the field, thrown out by some severe explosion, and masses of the missing windows and the cornice are found almost entire. Near the transept arches lies a tombstone, with a black-letter inscription on its edge.

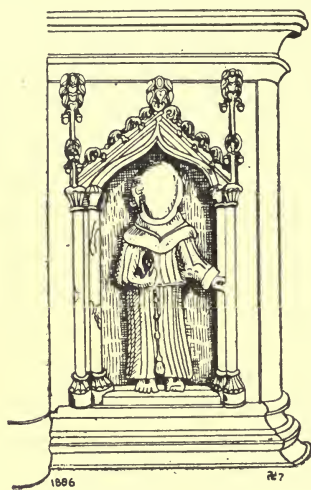




ASKEATON ABBEY—NORTH-EAST ANGLE OF THE CLOISTER.

(From a Photograph by Dr. George Fogerty.)

The CLOISTER.—This beautiful quadrangle is, perhaps, the most pleasing feature in the building, and, though excelled in design by the cloisters of Quin, Moyne, and Sligo, is, in the main, a most excellent specimen of our native architecture. Two chamfered arches in the roof near the east ends of the north and south arcades, the different character of the east arcade and a joining in the outer wall, suggest that the whole is an after-thought, and perhaps of two periods. Each side has twelve arches, divided in triplets by broader piers, each angle with a round shaft, but the outer faces continuous. The inside face of each of these piers has between its angle shafts—a feature more curious than pleasing—a shaft bending round the cornice like a modern “down-pipe.” The cloister measures over all 51 feet 2 inches north and south,



ASKEATON ABBEY.  
CARVING OF ST. FRANCIS.

and 51 feet 6 inches east and west. The walks are about 6 feet 8 inches wide; the sills of the arcade 23 inches wide; the pillars are 3 feet 4½ inches high; the arches 16 feet high from the capitals, or 4 feet 9 inches over the sill. The capitals display a wonderful variety of filleting, in places relieved by “nail heads.” In the north-east pier is a rude little figure of St. Francis, distinguished by drilled stigmata in the hands and feet, and pointing to the gash in his side through an oval opening in his gown. He has a circular tonsure, and stands in a shallow recess, ogee-headed, with pillars to each side, and an angular hood adorned with crockets and finials, conventional oak-leaves and acorns.<sup>1</sup> The face is nearly worn away by (it was said in 1875) the kisses of the faithful seeking

the infallible cure for toothache there to be found. The figure is far inferior to the quaint St. Francis in Ennis “Abbey,” and the admirable little Dominican Monk recovered from the ruined cloister at Athenry. Two of the pillars of the southern triplet of the west walk had been removed to enable coffins to be buried in the garth, as at Adare Franciscan Convent. They were traditionally said (in 1840) to have been removed by a French antiquary fifty years before (1790).<sup>2</sup> The robber had changed his nationality and become an Italian by 1875. They are now replaced by roughly dressed blocks. On the sill of the fourth arch from the west in the northern walk, on a highly polished edge of the sill, is engraved

<sup>1</sup> This pretty ornament also is found in the sedilia in the small chapels of the Franciscan Friary at Adare.

<sup>2</sup> Ordnance Survey Letters, Limerick, MSS. R.I.A., 14. E. 9, p. 454.

an epitaph : "Beneath lies the pilgrim's Body, who Died Jan. (20 ✠ 1814) 17<sup>th</sup>, 1784." The divergent date possibly represents a later addition. A compass (or sun-dial), probably also of late date, is found on the sill of the next recess to the west. All the vaulting of the walks was turned over wicker-work, and then smooth-plastered. There are cornices or weather ledges over the north, west, and south arcades. In 1834 "an ancient thorn of stately growth" occupied the garth.<sup>1</sup> In the east wall is a small tablet, with a hand holding a sword, and having "Domini Cornelii Shanahan," and the date 1783.

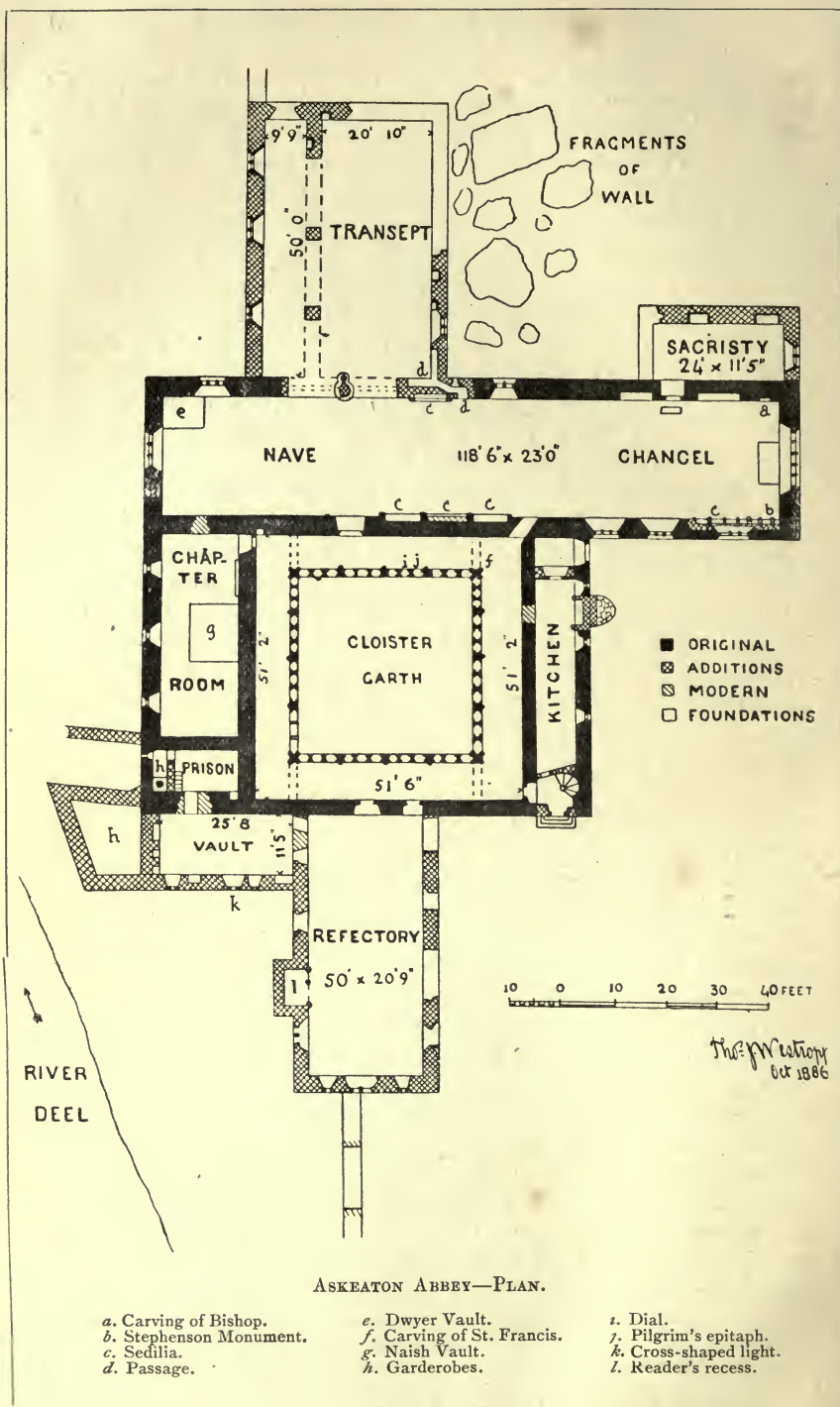
DOMESTIC BUILDINGS.—The rooms to the east and west of the cloister are also vaulted. The eastern is a long narrow room, across which a wall was built in later times, but before the destruction of the convent, partitioning off a sort of porch at the north. This has a pointed and chamfered door outside, and another leading to the "kitchen." It was built up in 1887, but has been opened in recent restorations. In the main room going southward we find a slit window, a plain fireplace with a semicircular projection or "oven," and a stepped chimney projection behind it, appearing outside the wall; two other flat-topped slits and a door to the staircase and porch. The vault was as usual turned over wicker, but has a raised rib along the crown, as if the wicker-work had not met over the centering timbers when the vault was being turned.

A barrel stair, partly broken, stands in the south-east corner of this wing. It has a newel, seven perfect and nine broken steps, some entirely removed, three more broken steps, and one retaining the rounded end. The stair is in the chief porch of the convent. Over its pointed door (to which several steps lead up from the field) are a weather ledge and five corbels, showing that a pent-house ran along the outer wall to a door in the later refectory. The joining already noted is found running up the wall four feet west of the porch door to the level of the window-sills in the upper room. The original narrow kitchen wing was evidently widened by the vaulted cloister as far as the dressed roof arches, and the upper room partly rebuilt.

The "CHAPTER-ROOM."—I adopt this name from the Naish tradition, though it is more probably a day-room. It is a long vaulted apartment to the west of the cloister, and measures 39 feet by 14 feet. In the west wall, looking out on the river, are three lights, one flat-headed, another double, and the third and northern having a curious but ugly angular adaptation of a trefoil head. The greater part of this room is taken up by the vault of the Naishes of Ballycullen. It bears a long inscription commencing—"In this ruined chapter-room, the ancient and exclusive burial-place of his family, this tomb was erected by Carrol Naish of Ballycullen, Esq<sup>re</sup>," &c. It commemorates his wife (the daughter of Denis Sampson), who died Dec., 1836. The older family monument is a dark limestone tablet

<sup>1</sup> Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland," vol. i., p. 81.





set in the wall. It has an armorial carving; crest, a dog(?) sejant; arms (Naish), a chevron between three birds holding twigs; impaling (Carrol),<sup>1</sup> a sword between two lions counter-rampant; with crude mantlings. Below are three lines: "Marito suo Domino Patricio Naish Acq | psteris hoc bustum fieri fecit Domina Su | zana Naish Alias Carrol Anno Domini 1741." At each top corner is an I.H.S. interlaced.

The "PRISON."—This little room suggests (even if does not actually deserve) its name. It was very possibly (like the undoubted prison in the garderobe tower at Ennis Abbey) a cell for punishing offenders. It lies at the south end of the "chapter-room," and was entered from the outside of the building which, owing to the steep slope towards the river, is 10 feet lower than the cloister wall. The "prison" has the usual wicker-marked pointed roof, and seems to have at one time been entered only by a door some height above the ground, near the staircase in the wall from the upper west room. It was only lighted by a little slit-window, unglazed, and placed in a recess roofed with flags, which forms a garderobe with a stone seat.

UPPER ROOMS.—Before dealing with what are evidently later additions to the convent on the ground-level, we may examine the upper story. These rooms, we may notice, in all cases bear no signs of having had glazed windows. The slots for tongues of metal frames, so usual in other monasteries and even in the castles, are here absent. It may be suggested that glazed wooden frames fitted inside the opes, but no trace is left. Before the conservation of the building access was difficult, as, except by the dangerous and broken barrel stair, the higher floors could only be reached by a difficult scramble to the door of the "prison." A flight of modern steps now leads up to this opening; thence (passing the main garderobe) we ascend an ancient flight of eighteen steps in the thickness of the south wall, and reach the western room above the "chapter-room." It commands a pleasing outlook over the outbuildings of the Friary up to the picturesque bridge and the towering ruins of the Desmond's Castle, the shattered Club House, and the dancing tidal stream, muddy from its plunge over "Gephthine's Cascade" and the rush over the shallows near the castle.<sup>2</sup>

The room has in its southern gable, first (to the east) the staircase door, there being an oblong light inside the recess; a large window with two pointed lights (the shaft removed), its splay is turned over wicker, and it has stone seats of unequal size in the recess; to the west are another oblong slit and a square ambry. The side walls have each four chamfered windows unevenly spaced, with lintels over the splays and pointed lights. Two doorways, pointed and chamfered, open at each

<sup>1</sup> These arms of the Carrols appear well engraved on the brass face of a fine old clock made in Birr, 1749, and now in Ballycullen, the residence of the Naish family. The latter, it may be recalled, were among the residents of Iniskifty so far back as 1346, and have resided near Askeaton to the present day.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 23, *supra*.

extremity of the eastern wall to passages above the cloister. The northern door opened back into the room, the southern into the passage. The northern end against the main south wall of the church is pierced by a small slit looking into that structure. There are also two curious recesses, one straight and one curved, as if long beams had been embedded in the face of the wall. The gutters have flat stone slabs and blocks covering their joints.

The northern passage is spanned by two semicircular arches, or rather chamfered ribs, for the support of water-channels from the south gutters of the church. They were in a very insecure state, with spandrels only next the church; but masonry has been built on the outer flanks which, though it obscures the original design, preserves this interesting feature. A projecting corbel in the north wall enabled one to reach the church-gutters through a break which is now closed. Some plain ambries remain in the wall. Former exploration was both difficult and dangerous from the thick ivy. The passage was lit by two windows, now defaced, and had a doorway at the east end, over which ran another water-channel, now broken down; the gargoyles are large and plain, projecting diagonally from the corners of the garth.

The eastern room is greatly defaced, but retains its large southern window, with a (partly restored) shaft and a transom; the upper heads are ogee. The four windows towards the cloister are all defaced; the third has been restored—it has double ogee lights. The east wall is intact; the flue of the kitchen fireplace opens into the upper fireplace in this room, and seems to have been an after-thought; between it and the stair are two ogee lights. To the north of the fireplace is a cinquefoil-headed light, while an oblong slit and a sink on the floor-level (with a projecting gargoyle) are at the head of the barrel stair.

The south passage above the cloister had a door (now nearly removed, save one springing block) at its east end, opening back into the room. The sills of two windows remain next the cloister, and of one (and there was probably a second) corresponding light in the broken outer wall.

**THE REFECTORY.**—This is a two-storied building, 50 feet 2 inches by 20 feet 9 inches internally, almost exactly the size of the main chapel of the transept. Two doorways open into the upper floor from the south cloister. Their object is not clear, unless one was partitioned off for a wooden staircase to the main room, or as a passage to the garderobe. The east wall was in a very insecure condition when this survey was made (in 1886, 1887), as four great gaps had been broken through it, the southern at least breaking an older window; two upper windows remain in it. It has been judiciously repaired.

The upper room has a fine pointed window, with a splay and double light, having lesser lights on either side, that to the left having an ogee



head, that to the right having a stepped head. The type of the last occurs elsewhere in the convent and also in the castle.<sup>1</sup>

There are six oblong and chamfered slits in the west wall, an ambry and a door into the large garderobe, and, as we have said, two into the cloister. The lower room was evidently the refectory. It has no southern window; but we find in the west wall (going northward), first a neat double ogee-headed window, then the reader's recess in a projection of the main wall. It had three arches with detached and lofty



ASKEATON ABBEY—THE REFECTORY.

(From a Photograph by Mr. T. F. Geoghegan.)

pillars; the southern had fallen with the adjoining half arches, and the recess was called "the confessional" in 1875. Another light, a broken ope, and a skew passage leading into the side vault remain.

GARDEROBE and VAULTED ROOM.—Another room runs westward along the southern wall of the domicile, projecting at an acute angle at its western end for 14 feet. It is heavily vaulted over wicker centres.

<sup>1</sup> This form of window is the subject of an interesting section of the article by Mr. J. H. Parker, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xvii., Part II., p. 544, when describing the ruins at Askeaton.

There are two large ambries and a small one in the western end. In the south wall (going westward) are a flat-topped window, a large ambry, a low window with a cross-slit, a pointed window, and a recess. Above this room we reach (by the new steps in the "prison") the great garde-robe. It had a low lean-to roof, under which was an attic lit by a small slit to the east. The room is 38 feet 6 inches long, and has doorways to the east and north; its ceiling was supported along the north wall by beams resting on hooked corbels. It has low, oblong lights to the south (one broken). The gutters have flags projecting under slight battlements; their joints were covered with stones, rounded or gabled with angular "side throws"; their outer edge rests on a cornice and corbels. The pit extends across the west end of the room, and has an oblong slit behind it.

The convent stands in a field enclosed by ancient walls 8 feet to 12 feet high and 4 feet thick. There is a closed arch, of no great apparent age, near the refectory.

"HOSPICE."—A detached building, probably the hospice or infirmary, lies to the east, and measures 96 feet 4 inches by 22 feet 2 inches internally. There is a small slit in the middle of the east wall. The south end is alone entire, being two stories high, each having a window with an oblong splay; the upper light is oblong, the lower pointed; in the summit of the gable is a small semicircular ope. Only 18 feet of the west wall remains; this fragment has only a plain ambry.

Down to 1886 the place was in a ghastly state of neglect, heaped with skulls, bones, and coffin-planks. Cattle were able to invade the cloister, and a bull had "horned up" the graves in every direction, disinterring more than one coffin from its shallow recess. Fortunately such abuses are now at an end, and as a "National Monument" we may hope that the convent may remain, secure from further demolition and desecration, to give to future generations a memento of the skill of the nameless builders and of the power and piety of that great and historic but most hapless race—the Fitzgeralds of Desmond.

#### CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

Page 164.—Add to list of Members of Parliament:—1634. Sir Hardress Waller, Knight, and Maurice Williams, Esq.

Page 167, note 1.—The entry "*Mr. Purcell, alias Barkeley*," is given in other places as "*Mrs.*," which removes the difficulty. There is, however, another later Francis Berkeley living in 1657, near Loughnaguirra and Knockdrown Asill, or Tory Hill, who cannot be located in the family pedigree.

Page 35.—Lewis ("*Top. Dict.*," vol. i., p. 392) alleges that Morgan's Church (Dysert Merogan) was built by the Franciscans of Askeaton in 1498. The remains bear out the statement as to the date (see O'Donovan's Ordnance Survey Letters on Limerick, R.I.A., 14. E. 9, p. 446).

Page 163, line 7.—However, as to foundation of the College Library, see to the contrary Rev. J. Pentland Mahaffy, F.R.C.D., in *Hermathena*, 1902.

DIARY OF WILLIAM KING, D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,  
DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT IN DUBLIN CASTLE.

EDITED (WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDIX)  
BY HUGH JACKSON LAWLOR, D.D.

(Continued from page 152.)

[\*]—*Aug. 16.*<sup>46</sup> . . . . . the comm. . . . .  
told a . . . . . -ford we . . . . . [endeav-]  
our to get . . . . . house . . . . .  
. . but had . . . . . could not . . . . .  
about . . . . . sent to . . . . .  
-etory of . . . . . he said he was [g]otten . . . . .  
his estate but y<sup>t</sup> the woud . . . . . of y<sup>e</sup> militia-w<sup>h</sup> he . . . . .  
-cept said he let y<sup>m</sup> fight . . . . . estates under y<sup>e</sup> King as . . . . .  
yet rec<sup>d</sup> any profits on . . . . . ly in Jail rather y<sup>n</sup> engage . . . . .  
reflected on this discourse & . . . . . not y<sup>e</sup> only man of this hum[our] . . . . .  
M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: heard that Lord M: <sup>47</sup> ha[d] . . . . . Eniskillen to y<sup>e</sup> K: to  
be favou[rable] . . . . . [pro]testants were assuring him that y<sup>e</sup> . . . . .  
R: C: in Ulster depended on it . . . . . [resol]ved to grant no quar-  
ters if . . . . . used here & that y<sup>e</sup> people of . . . . . to y<sup>e</sup>  
same purpose and like[wise] . . . . . written from derry . . . . .

[\*]—[*Aug. 17*] . . . . . only in the . . . . . as y<sup>t</sup> . . . . . d  
pri[soners] . . . . . rd . . . . . only that . . . . . er son . . . . .  
invaders . . . . . were 2000 . . . . . [C]ork . . . . .  
[v]oluntiers . . . . . landed . . . . . on . . . . . account . . . . .  
a . . . . . was put on . . . . . likewise that all protes[tants] . . . . .  
. . . . . -ed by special license . . . . . en to bru-  
ers horses <sup>48</sup> . . . . . y<sup>t</sup> Judge Keatings horses <sup>49</sup> . . . . .

(46) This leaf is torn, so that only the beginnings of the lines on the *recto* and the ends of the lines on the *verso* remain.

(47) Lord Melfort (?).

(48) There is evidently a reference here to the seizure, by "several officers of the army," of "the horses made use of by the common brewers of Dublin for carrying on their trade," which was regarded by the Commissioners of Revenue as "much to the prejudice of his majesties revenue of excise," and was in consequence protested against by them, 26th July, 1689. A proclamation was issued by Tyrconnell on the 4th September, determining the number of horses which might be retained by the several brewers of the city and its neighbourhood (A. R., p. 615). For references to authorities quoted, see p. 139.

(49) John Keating, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, younger son of Edmund or Edward Keating, of Narraghmore, in the county Kildare, who died in 1633. Chief Justice Keating was a Protestant, and was named a burgess of Swords in the new



[Aug. 18. I pre]ached twice on 2 Cor. 5.<sup>50</sup> . . . sacrament on Sunday<sup>51</sup> . . . er &c. were permitted to [come up. In the mor]ning Mr S——e<sup>52</sup> came up [& told me y<sup>t</sup>] Maxwell<sup>53</sup> had deserted [and gone over to y<sup>e</sup>] rebels and y<sup>t</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Thomas [Newcomen had] gotten a great party in the [county of Long]ford & had seized the fort [of Lanesborough &] made himself master—[39]—of y<sup>t</sup> country [lead-in]ge into Connaught.<sup>54</sup> In the afternoon Mr . . . r came up and discoursed several things. He told me y<sup>t</sup> J: K——<sup>55</sup> told him y<sup>t</sup> he

charter granted by King James. He was appointed Chief Justice in 1679, and held office till 1691, when he was dismissed by William III. He endeavoured to mediate between the opposing parties with regard to the repeal of the Act of Settlement (S. P. I., chap. III., § 3, and App. 22, pp. 64, 377 (*recte* 385); D'Alton, p. 829). The statement in the text, of which only a few words remain, was probably to the effect that Judge Keating's horses were among those which had been seized by the government.

(50) 2 Cor. iii. 4 is the first verse of the Epistle for the day (12th Sunday after Trinity): 5 is probably a slip for 3.

(51) These words must in some way refer to the celebration of the Holy Communion which took place on the following Sunday (25th August).

(52) Apparently Mr. Spike (see 3rd October).

(53) Thomas Maxwell, Brigadier, and Colonel of the seventh Regiment of Dragoons. His retreat to Newry (Introduction, p. 133) may have given rise to the report which King here chronicles. It was certainly false, for Maxwell continued to fight under the Jacobite colours till the end of the war, taking part in all the greater engagements. At the same time a mysterious statement in a despatch of Schomberg's must not be forgotten. Writing to King William under the date 16th August, he says: "From what can be learnt by the discourse of Brigadier Maxuel the enemy will muster towards Charlemont, and King James is resolved to give battle. They expect aid from France in a few days, and will encamp within four miles of Dublin" (S. P. D., p. 222). The information was certainly not very accurate. Was it merely the report of an eavesdropper? Or did Maxwell hold clandestine communication with the enemy? At any rate, for some reason he was constantly suspected by a section of the followers of James II. Thus O'Kelly calls him a "pretended" Roman Catholic. Purcell and Henry Luttrell on one occasion, it is said, were on the point of throwing him into the sea; it is stated that the capture of Athlone, 30th June, 1690, was due to his incompetence or treachery; and carelessness is also ascribed to him in connexion with the defence of Limerick. Maxwell was a Scotchman. He had the command of a regiment of dragoons in England, and followed James in his flight thence to St. Germain. After the capitulation of Limerick he again went to France, and fought bravely on the Continent. His wife was Jane, widow of the sixth Duke of Norfolk (*Macariae Excidium*, p. 122, *sq.*; D'Alton, p. 408).

(54) Sir Thomas Newcomen of Sutton, County Dublin, knighted about 1666-7, was an illegitimate son of Sir Beverley Newcomen, Bart., Admiral of the Irish Seas. He had been a colonel in James's Army, but he deprived him of his command, "though he could object nothing against [him] but [his] Religion." *A Short View of the Methods made use of in Ireland for the Subversion and Destruction of Protestant Religion and Interest in that Kingdom*. By a Clergy Man lately escaped from thence, London, 1689, p. 29. The first overt act of rebellion on the part of the men of Enniskillen was the refusal to quarter two companies of his regiment sent thither by Tyrconnell. His name is frequently written "Newford" in contemporary pamphlets. He died 1694-5. His first wife was Frances, widow of James Cusack of Cushenstown, County Meath, and daughter of Sir William Talbot of Carton, County Kildare. He was thus Tyrconnell's brother-in-law.

It seems likely that the fort was the castle of Lanesborough, reported two days later to be "in the hands of Sir Thomas Newcomen." Situated on the Shannon at the north end of Lough Ree, its bridge connects Leinster with Connaught. Lanesborough is only six or seven miles from Keenagh, Newcomen's residence in the county Longford. See further below at 9th November.

(55) Judge Keating? Perhaps referring to his horses being seized. See above, note 49.

wished for his own part y<sup>t</sup> he were in some jail, reckoning y<sup>t</sup> more secure [than] being abroad, y<sup>t</sup> it was confid[ently] reported Coll. Sarcefield was in [Athlone] and y<sup>t</sup> he was under some disgrace . . . . led by a party about Foxford and [had] lost by surprise near 600.<sup>56</sup> I could not [give] credit to any of these story (*sic*) because [I did] not find y<sup>t</sup> they were confirmed [by any] other y<sup>n</sup> vulgar surmises. About . . . . M<sup>rs</sup> Fanning<sup>57</sup> came up to see us & two [gentle]-women one of which was called . . . . tother was a daughter of M<sup>r</sup> Odall [who is] in Jail at Limerick.<sup>58</sup> Our discourse . . . . common. M<sup>rs</sup> Fanning was a R: C: [but she] said y<sup>t</sup> she had a brother come ov[er with] y<sup>e</sup> invaders. We observed off<sup>59</sup> y<sup>e</sup> . . . . some tents towards Glassnevin [which we] concluded to be designed for y<sup>e</sup> K.

Aug. 19.—Nothing remarkable only L<sup>t</sup> Cu[mber: came] in the morning & told [me] y<sup>t</sup> Coll. Bark[er] . . . . as y<sup>t</sup> morning, but he did not.<sup>60</sup> We were [told]—[40]—y<sup>t</sup> one Cap<sup>t</sup> Lavallin was to . . . y<sup>e</sup> camp,<sup>61</sup> & a sergeant at y<sup>e</sup> artillery yard [was c]ondemned by a

(56) Compare Introduction, p. 132. I have not found elsewhere any reference to the affair of Foxford. It is difficult to understand why Sarsfield should have passed that place on his way to Athlone. On his career, see D. N. B., l., p. 305.

(57) Fanning is a Limerick name (D'Alton, p. 828; Dowd, *Round about the County of Limerick*, 1896, p. 312). Baron Rice's mother was Phillis Fanning, of Limerick (D'Alton, p. 183).

(58) John Odell was High Sheriff of Limerick in 1678 and 1679, and John Odell (the same?) was M.P. for Askeaton, 1692-1695. Lieut.-Col. W. Odell was one of the members for the county of Limerick, 1797-1818 (Dowd, pp. 320, 327, 330). "Charles Odle, of Castlemackiniry, Gent." was among the attainted of 1689 (S. P. I., p. 248).

(59) Possibly "all" or "att."

(60) William Maunsell (or Mansfield) Barker, Lieut.-Colonel of the King's Regiment of Foot, Lieutenant of the Ordnance and afterwards Brigadier. He was killed at Aughrim, when in command of the Infantry (D'Alton, pp. 414, 420; J. N., pp. 142, 787; *Stuart Papers*, p. 42). He was Constable of the Castle, as we learn from *Paraphrase*, p. 80.

(61) Captain Peter Lavallin, of Carroll's Dragoons, whose estates were forfeited in 1691 (D'Alton, p. 380). The story is thus told in J. N., p. 81: Mountcashel, returning from his unsuccessful attack on Crum Castle, "sent before him most of his horse and dragoons under brigadier Anthony Hamilton. . . . Hamilton was met by the enemy unexpectedly near Newtown-Butler and attacked, while the Lord of Mountcashel was approaching with the main body. But after a short dispute, brigadier Hamilton sent the word by captain Lavallin to his men to wheel to the left, as if it were to rejoin Mountcashel. Lavallin delivered it 'to the left about,' as he thought it was, though Hamilton maintained it afterwards that it was as aforesaid; whereupon the men marched off the field and flew away, as did the brigadier." Thus was the Battle of Newtown Butler lost. "But how this mistake in delivering the abovesaid word happened (which gave the occasion of that retreating) it hath been disputed. In three weeks after the action, brigadier Anthony Hamilton and captain Lavallin were brought to a trial before a court-martial in Dublin, wherein general de Rosen saty president. The brigadier was acquitted, and the captain condemned to a military death, though at his execution he protested that he delivered the word as he had received it; and many believed his protestation. He was a gentleman of a good estate in the county of Cork, within twelve miles of that city, [viz., Walterstown, or Waterstown in the Parish of Templeroobin, near Queenstown, granted to Patrick Lavallin in 1686: see Records of the forfeitures of 1691 in the Public Record Office, Dublin, and *Abstract of Grants* . . . under the Commission of Grace, 1839, p. 45],

council of war for some misbehaviour. We were told also y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> T——r had declared to M<sup>r</sup> L——n<sup>62</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King woud give y<sup>e</sup> enemy [battle a]bout Dundalk & if he was beaten he [woud th]en order to lay Dublin in ashes: but we [heard f]rom another hand y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King was [very a]ngry at this report. We had likewise [heard] y<sup>t</sup> Colrain & Carrigfergus were both [deserted] by the King's party;<sup>63</sup> y<sup>t</sup> some forces were . . . . . Munster, but we coud learn no cer[tainty of] any of these. I heard that M<sup>r</sup> K.'s brother<sup>64</sup> . . . . . s: being as said sent by L<sup>d</sup> M.<sup>65</sup> but his [brother] was very angry with him & woud not see [him. Mr] Crow was visited by a fryer who did [intreat]e him to come out of prison. Coll: . . . . .<sup>66</sup> wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: y<sup>t</sup> he endea[voured to co]me & give him a visite but was [hindered by] y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> guard by name Cap<sup>t</sup> [Roch.<sup>67</sup> It] was s<sup>d</sup> y<sup>t</sup> Lord Milford was petitioned . . . . . the officers of y<sup>e</sup> army and y<sup>t</sup> he was to . . . . . and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> were some dissensions . . . . . about y<sup>e</sup> miscarriage of some affaires.<sup>68</sup> [We saw] likewise several chairs & other . . . . . stuff removing out of the Castle.

[41]—*Aug. 19.*—M<sup>r</sup> Ors.<sup>69</sup> was informed y<sup>t</sup> Coll. Blunt<sup>70</sup> had declared y<sup>t</sup> they had only one chance for their whole affair which was the success of a battel, for he was afraid y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> french fleet had y<sup>e</sup> worst in a fight at sea.

*Aug. 20.*—Lieut. Cum: came up to breakfast with us he told us y<sup>t</sup> Sligo, Boyle & Roscommon were burnt by Coll. Sarcefield in his retreat<sup>71</sup> & y<sup>t</sup> Lanesborough was in the hands of Sir Thomas Newcomen.<sup>72</sup> M<sup>r</sup> C. came up & told us y<sup>t</sup> Sir Rich. Nagle was to

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and was much regretted by his friends." Evidently the writer shared the view of many (see 21st August), and had little confidence in the justice of de Rosen's sentence.

(62) Perhaps 'L——h.'

(63) This was true of Coleraine, and had some foundation in fact in the case of Carrickfergus. (See Introduction, p. 133, and compare note 53 above).

(64) This is almost certainly Thomas King, who is called by Mason (App., p. lxxvii.), on the authority of a contemporary pamphlet, the title of which he does not give, Archbishop King's nephew. He was sixth son of James King, of Corrad, and therefore a younger brother of Robert King, of Swords. (*Lough Erne*, p. 56). He graduated in Trinity College, Dublin, in 1684 (*Catalogue of Graduates*), and was made Prebendary of Swords in 1703–4. He is mentioned again under the date 13th October.

(65) Lord Melfort (?).

(66) Perhaps Col. Clifford, who visited Fitzgerald two days later.

(67) The name of Roch is suggested by the mention of an officer of that name under the dates 10th, 11th September; but perhaps Cumberford is meant.

(68) Milford, I suppose, is merely a various spelling of Melfort. The reference must be to one of the many quarrels between the unpopular Secretary of State and the officers of the army.

(69) Mr. Ormsby, on whom see above, note 6.

(70) This may be George Blount who served under Lord Dover in the 4th Troop of Horse Guards (Charles Dalton's *English Army Lists*, vol. ii., p. 75).

(71) See Introduction, p. 132.

(72) See above, note 54.



be secretary of state.<sup>73</sup> There were two very lying centries told many lying stories of Derry. I desired them not to ly, for what they said was impossible to be true. They told us y<sup>t</sup> they had killed 10<sup>m</sup> & 60 men at Derry & left only 600 alive.

Mem. that on the 19<sup>th</sup> we heard y<sup>t</sup> several persons refrained bringing butter, cheese &c. to y<sup>e</sup> markets because they woud not be obliged to take brass monies & y<sup>t</sup> such money began to be scrupled.

I saw a piece of y<sup>e</sup> Prince of O.'s money. Twas a half crown with two faces on one side anno Regni primo Deus et tutamen, about it Gul: et Maria. M. Brettanniae Franciae et Hib: Rex et Regina on the sides with y<sup>e</sup> arms of England & a lion in y<sup>e</sup> midst.

About 6 in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon L<sup>t</sup> Baker<sup>74</sup> came up and intimated to us y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>re</sup> was a generall order to Bail us, which we received with some surprise. We resolved not to pay the constable's<sup>75</sup> unreasonable demands.

[\*]—Aug. 21.—We heard nothing further of our being bail only M<sup>r</sup> Weaver<sup>76</sup> came up & reasoned the case whether it were better to be bailed or remain confined. It was resolved y<sup>t</sup> it was safer to remain, only y<sup>t</sup> it must be done without disobling (*sic*)<sup>77</sup> if therefore liberty were offered we were not to refuse it except we could find some reasonable pretence which might not exasperate. As to y<sup>e</sup> matter of fees twas resolved y<sup>t</sup> we woud call for y<sup>e</sup> table of fees before we went out & offer him according to our quality & y<sup>e</sup> table if he demanded any more we woud offer security to answer his action, if he woud not accept of this we woud refuse to leave y<sup>e</sup> Castle till this were adjusted. This we resolved to condescend to lest it shoud be said y<sup>t</sup> we lay in for our fees.

It was reported y<sup>t</sup> Carrigfergus was not deserted as had bin supposed, y<sup>t</sup> Athlone was judged untenable,<sup>78</sup> y<sup>t</sup> some horse were landed out of England, y<sup>t</sup> his majesty was to leave Dublin to-morrow & go to fight the rebels in y<sup>e</sup> north, y<sup>t</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Tir. was to be governour in

(73) Sir Richard Nagle was descended from an old Cork family, and is said to have been educated by Jesuits with a view to being admitted to Holy Orders. He was called to the Bar, and in 1686 became Attorney-General. He was Speaker of the Irish Parliament in 1689, and in the September of that year was appointed principal Secretary of State. He left Ireland with James, but returned in January, 1690-1. The date of his death is uncertain. Throughout his career he supported the policy of Tyrconnell, being the first to propose the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and afterwards very active in the matter of the writs of Quo Warranto by which the corporations of Ireland were deprived of their charters (D. N. B., xl., p. 22). The remark made in the text seems to prove that it was already anticipated that Melfort would be dismissed from office, if Macaulay is right in saying that Nagle succeeded him (M., p. 420).

(74) Was this Captain Francis Baker, of Lord Bophin's Foot (D'Alton, p. 764) ?

(75) The Constable of the Castle.

(76) Possibly Mr. John Weaver, one of the twelve imprisoned in Newgate. See above, note 2.

(77) Possibly 'disabling.'

(78) I do not know what truth there may have been in this rumour. At the time the town was held by D'Anglour with some foot (*Life*, p. 372).

his absence.<sup>79</sup> R: Moor who had been bailed some days before was brought into y<sup>e</sup> Castle with two files of men.<sup>80</sup>

About 6 in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon Coll. Clifford<sup>81</sup> visited M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: and told him y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King intended to go down to y<sup>e</sup> North & stay two or three days at Drogheda, & y<sup>n</sup> go forward to meet Schomberg & the invaders who were all new raised men; y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King's army would be above 40<sup>m</sup>,<sup>82</sup> y<sup>t</sup> he feared y<sup>e</sup> were a great many bad officers—[43]—y<sup>t</sup> he found y<sup>e</sup> private [soldiers much] dissatisfied concerning y<sup>e</sup> death of Lavallin<sup>83</sup> who did not deserve to dy so well as some of his accusers, y<sup>t</sup> he dyed very bravely. He s<sup>d</sup> further to M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: <sup>84</sup> who ex[pressed her] fear of some mischief to y<sup>e</sup> pr[isoners in] case the army & his Maj<sup>r</sup> went from [Dublin] & y<sup>t</sup> she had no reason to apprehend [any] danger to y<sup>m</sup> herself, house, or family [as] the King had bin pleased to leave

(79) This is, of course, Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell, the viceroy. He was unwell at this time, and had for some time been living in retirement at Chapelizod (*Life*, p. 374; *Macariae Excidium*, p. 337). A letter from Chester, 2nd September, 1689, states that James "hath vested Tyrconnell again with the Government." (*A full and true Account of his Grace Duke Schomberg's marching towards Dublin*, London, 1689). This may explain the statement, not otherwise easy to understand, that he was "to be governour."

(80) This seems to be the same as "Coll. [Moor]e," mentioned below and frequently afterwards. "Because the Clerk of the First Fruits, Lieutenant Colonel Roger Moore, being a Protestant himself, would not be severe with the Clergy, and seize their Livings and Persons, to force them to pay what he knew they were not in a capacity to do, they found pretence to seize his Person, and sent him with Three Files of Musquetiers Prisoner to the Castle of Dublin, where he and two Gentlemen more lay in a cold nasty Garret for some months" (S. P. I., chap. iii., § 16, p. 202). Elsewhere (S. P. I., chap. iii., § 3, p. 71 *sq.*) we read of a Col. Roger Moor who had inherited from Sir John Knox, Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1685, a patent for coining copper money for Ireland. His patent was disregarded, and his coining tools seized by the government, when James began to supply his needs by establishing a mint and issuing brass coinage. Probably this was the same person. Supposing these statements to be true, it is scarcely surprising to find that in March, 1689-90, a message was sent from Dublin to Schomberg's camp by Col. Roger Moor, a Protestant (S. P. D., p. 532). Moore lived at Johnstown and Lower Blind Quay, Dublin (Hughes, *Church of St. John, Dublin*, Dublin, 1889, p. 57). In 1691 he commanded the Dublin City Militia (A. R., pp. 521, 536).

(81) Colonel Robert Clifford, described in his attainder in 1691 as Robert Clifford, of Dublin, Esq., commanded the 5th Regiment of Dragoons in the Jacobite Army. He was a Roman Catholic, but apparently not a whole-hearted supporter of James II. He is accused by several writers of treachery or gross carelessness, which led to the capitulation of Limerick. The writer of J. N. does not defend him, but hints that he was not the only officer in Limerick who had accepted a bribe from the enemy (D'Alton, p. 356; J. N., pp. 161, 171-3).

(82) This estimate was pretty accurate. Schomberg informed King William (14th March, 1689-90) that "they had 40,000 men altogether, when they were encamped at Ardee, and they had, moreover, 15,000 or 16,000 in Dublin, Drogheda, Cork, Kinsale, and on the River Shannon" (S. P. D., p. 510). Elsewhere the numbers are stated as 3150 Horse, 4500 Dragoons and 46,800 Foot—which give a total of 54,450 (*Ib.*, p. 386). Story (p. 40) reports that the general opinion was that there were "nigh forty thousand" at Dundalk; but admits that "Lieut.-General Hamilton denied that they were ever so many in the field." And the figures given in the French Army List printed by Gilbert (J. N., p. 201 *sqq.*) yield a total of 34,296 men, four regiments being omitted from the numeration.

(83) See above, note 61.

(84) Mary, daughter and heiress of James Clotworthy, Esq., Money more, Co. Derry (Lodge, vol. i., p. 108).



commands y<sup>t</sup> none of the people in town who lived quietly shoud meet with any disturbance, y<sup>t</sup> my Lord Tirc. was left chief in y<sup>e</sup> [govern]ment to act with y<sup>e</sup> advice of 2 or [3] who were moderate gentlemen: y<sup>t</sup> [Mons.] Boysleau late governour of Cork was [one] of them; <sup>85</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> thoughts of burning y<sup>e</sup> city was (*sic*) quite laid aside, & y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King had given special direction about y<sup>e</sup> prisoners & expresst a great abhorrence against using any v[iolence] against them. he said likewise y<sup>t</sup> he heard Cap<sup>t</sup> Boyle was landed in Munster, <sup>86</sup> & y<sup>t</sup> he thought he had more reason y<sup>n</sup> many other being made a rebel by act of parlement, y<sup>t</sup> he had something to maintain himself if the King's affairs shoud miscarry, & he promised M<sup>rs</sup> Fitz:—[44] . . . . . if any disturbance shoud [arise] he woud send a file of men to secure her house, & if bail woud be accepted for M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: he offered to be bound for him.

. . . & M<sup>r</sup> Sp—r <sup>87</sup> came to visite [us] . . . . . [se]nt me an account in writing from . . . . . concerning his brother whom he had . . . . . Lord C. J. N. order. <sup>88</sup> he told me likewise y<sup>t</sup> 4 troopers & five horses were quartered on him & y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> officer obliged him to furnish y<sup>m</sup> with meat drink lodging &c for y<sup>m</sup> & y<sup>e</sup> horses [Que]re whether the like is not done everywhere. Coll. . . . . was comitted to y<sup>e</sup> Castle & came [in a]s a fellow prisoner about six in y<sup>e</sup> [afternoon]. <sup>89</sup> He had bin before Baron Rice & Ch: [J. N.] they expected ready mony from him . . . . y<sup>e</sup> Balance of an account before they had agreed on y<sup>e</sup> stating it & L<sup>d</sup> C. J. expected he should do some service for y<sup>e</sup> government to which he replied y<sup>t</sup> he could not fight for a government y<sup>t</sup> had not left him or children a groat. M<sup>r</sup> S—e <sup>90</sup> came up and told me y<sup>t</sup> the K. woud go from here Friday or Saturday next & I heard from him y<sup>t</sup> some R: C: were thinking of putting some goods in y<sup>e</sup> hands of protestants this was further confirmed by others. He w<sup>d</sup> not tell where y<sup>e</sup> King would go. He was not to [sen]d his tent till further orders.

[45]—*Aug. 22, 1689.*—M<sup>rs</sup> white (?) came up to visite M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: she told us y<sup>t</sup> this morning M<sup>r</sup> Billing sent 4<sup>lb</sup> to Lord Chancellour, <sup>91</sup>

(85) A captain of the French Guards, who came over with King James to Ireland. Boisseleau was left in command of the troops which remained at Drogheda when James broke up his camp at Ardee. In August, 1690, Tyrconnell appointed him Governour of Limerick, but immediately after William raised the siege he was succeeded by Dorrington "because monsieur Boisseleau was to go into France" (D'Alton, p. 747; J. N., pp. 46, 91, 113, 117, 261–6).

(86) This was, perhaps, Captain Henry Boyle, mentioned in S. P. I., chap. III., § 13, p. 170. He had put himself under the protection of Mountcashel, but, in spite of this, Castle-martyr, which was his property, was destroyed, and he fled into England. He was attainted in 1689 (*Ib.*, p. 249), which explains the statement that he was "made a rebel by Act of Parliament."

(87) Mr. Spranger? See 12th August.

(88) Possibly a reference to the incident about Mr. K.'s brother recorded 19th August.

(89) This seems to be a repetition of what is said above about 'R. Moor.' See note 80.

(90) Probably Mr. Spike. See below, 3rd October.

(91) Alexander Fitton, great-grandson of Sir Edward Fitton, Knight, of Gawsworth,



being rent due to him in Brass mony, which L<sup>d</sup> Chancellor sent back refusing to receive it in y<sup>t</sup> mony. We were informed y<sup>t</sup> a French ship supposed an Admiral, came in to Kinsale much shattered which gave ground to believe y<sup>e</sup> fleets had met. We further were informed y<sup>t</sup> 5.000 horse & dragoons were landed, y<sup>t</sup> his Majesty designed to go no further y<sup>n</sup> Tredath.<sup>92</sup> My man came & informed me y<sup>t</sup> a popish priest came & demanded y<sup>e</sup> protestants Tith in my Deanry to which I sent answer y<sup>t</sup> it should be at y<sup>r</sup> peril if they paid any & y<sup>t</sup> I would defend y<sup>m</sup> if they refused.<sup>93</sup> I resolved to write to this purpose to y<sup>m</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Sp:<sup>94</sup> told me y<sup>t</sup> the King talked with great horror of y<sup>e</sup> burning of Dublin & y<sup>t</sup> he was not pleased with y<sup>e</sup> Irish nation in general as not having performed according to y<sup>e</sup> promise to him. Coll. Tuit<sup>95</sup> came to Coll: Moor and told him y<sup>t</sup> the Lord Chief Justice would bail him if he would perform y<sup>e</sup> conditions he offered y<sup>e</sup> day before, but he seemed indifferent & looked upon himself to be injured so highly by his—[46]—committall y<sup>t</sup> he would do nothing but w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Law will oblige him to do. Coll: Bouchier visited M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: he complained much of y<sup>e</sup> Irish &c.<sup>96</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Brandcourt visited me but I entertained no private discourse with him. He came lately out of y<sup>e</sup> North.

*Aug. 23.*—We had an account of y<sup>e</sup> invaders coming near Newry where some small engagement happened<sup>97</sup> one of the wounded troopers came to Town. Coll. N: Fitz:<sup>98</sup> came to visite M<sup>r</sup> (*sic*) & told

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Cheshire, Lord President of Connaught and Thomond, and Treasurer of Ireland, who died 3rd July, 1579, and was buried beside his wife in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. Fitton was brought over to Ireland by Tyrconnell, and was made Lord Chancellor, 12th February, 1686–7. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Gawsworth, April, 1689. He was attainted in 1691, and died in 1698. He was originally a Protestant, but became a Roman Catholic. King states that he had been imprisoned for forgery in England (D'Alton, p. 869; S. P. I., chap. II., § 6, p. 26; chap. III., § 3, p. 58; Mason, p. lii.; D. N. B., xix., p. 80).

(92) Drogheda is frequently called by this name by English writers of the period, as, for instance, among our authorities, by Nibell. This report modified the statement of Col. Clifford the day before.

(93) The parliament of 1689 had passed an Act which released Roman Catholics from the obligation to pay tithes to the Protestant Clergy, and made tithes of Roman Catholics payable to their own Clergy, a Roman Catholic incumbent of any benefice, however, being allowed to recover tithes from both Protestants and Roman Catholics. King states that in practice the provisions of this Act were disregarded, the tithes being in many cases taken from Protestants, in parishes where their own clergy still remained, by 'Popish Priests' (S. P. I., chap. III., § 16, p. 198 *sq.*).

(94) Mr. Spike (?). See below, 3rd October.

(95) Probably Brigadier-General William Tuite, who was wounded and taken prisoner at Aughrim, and attainted in 1691. His name does not occur, apparently, in the Irish Army List (D'Alton, pp. 957, 961); but see Charles Dalton's *English Army Lists*, vol. II., p. 9.

(96) The name of Bouchier, or Bourchier, does not appear to occur in the Jacobite Irish Army List. There are several officers of that name in Dalton's *English Army Lists* (vol. II., pp. 5, 12, 35, 121, 144), one of whom may be the person here referred to. He is called 'Captain' below, 23rd August.

(97) This rumour was false. Schomberg's army did not reach Newry till 5th September (S. P. D., p. 251).

(98) Col. Nicholas Fitzgerald was Governor of Athlone when it was attacked by

him y<sup>t</sup> he came from Newry Monday last y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> invaders did not bring above 140 Horse & eleven or 12<sup>m</sup> foot, that they besieged y<sup>e</sup> town of Carrigfergus & woud carry it but not y<sup>e</sup> Castle,<sup>99</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> were 6 or 7<sup>m</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> King's army to oppose y<sup>m</sup> about Dundalk & Newry & y<sup>e</sup> rest woud march down next week.

There happened a scuffle in Town between some frenchmen & some Irish soldiers two of y<sup>e</sup> Irish were killed as reported. We observed some shuffling & change in y<sup>e</sup> Castle but coud not understand y<sup>e</sup> meaning of it. Coll. T——<sup>100</sup> came to visite Coll. M. they parted in some anger their discourse I did not hear. Cap<sup>t</sup> Bouchier<sup>101</sup> visited M<sup>r</sup> F. and took his leave, being to go this afternoon to Tredath.<sup>102</sup>

[47]—*Aug. 24.*—Nothing remarkable y<sup>e</sup> day being spent as seriously as we coud in order to preparation for y<sup>e</sup> sacrament.

*Aug. 25.*—I preached 2<sup>o</sup> on Luke 10. 25,<sup>103</sup> and administered y<sup>e</sup> holy sacrament to nine or ten of the prisoners.<sup>104</sup> I observe they were very busy in y<sup>e</sup> Castle all day, sending away some & loading other carriages.

*Aug. 26.*—The King went away about 11 of the clock, his guards appeared to us to be very ill mounted.<sup>105</sup> We heard from several hands y<sup>t</sup> some horse were landed in y<sup>e</sup> north some said 3,000, some five thousands, others only three regiments. M<sup>r</sup> B——l<sup>106</sup> visited me &

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Ginkel, 19th June, 1691 (J. N., p. 133). There was also a Lieut.-Col. Nicholas Fitzgerald in Lord Bellew's Regiment of Infantry (probably the same), who, with Col. Laurence Dempsey, took part in a skirmish near Newry a week before the Battle of the Boyne (D'Alton, p. 630; J. N., pp. 96, 205).

(99) See Introduction, p. 133, and compare Story, p. 9, where we learn that one Mr. Spring, who escaped from Carrickfergus on 23rd August, reported to Schomberg "that they resolved, if we stormed the Town, to retire all to the Castle, in order to which they had laid in great store of Corn, Beef, Salt, and other Provisions proportionable."

(100) Col. Tuite? See above, note 95.

(101) See above, note 96.

(102) See above, note 92.

(103) From the Gospel for the 13th Sunday after Trinity.

(104) King celebrated the Holy Communion on the last Sunday of each month for the prisoners. (See 29th Sept., 27th Oct.)

(105) The escort consisted of 100 of the King's Horse Guards and 200 of Parker's Horse (*Life*, p. 373). King James reached Drogheda on the same day (Nibell, p. 221).

(106) The pious and accomplished James Bonnell, who seems to be referred to here, was one of the most attractive personalities of a not very attractive period. His life, by William Hamilton, Archdeacon of Armagh (*The Exemplary Life and Character of James Bonnell, Esq., Late Accountant-General of Ireland*, 3rd Ed., London, 1707; reprinted, Lóndon, 1852), is largely taken up with meditations, which it was his constant practice to commit to writing. His father, Samuel Bonnell, a Norwich merchant, wasted his fortune by advancing money to the Stewarts, and in return received from Charles II. a patent for the office of Accountant-General for Ireland. He died in 1664, before his son James, who, according to the terms of the patent, was to succeed him, had completed his ninth year. In consequence the post was held for some years by a deputy. James graduated at Cambridge, and immediately afterwards he became tutor to the son of Mr. Ralph Freeman, of Aspeden Hall, Herts, with whom he travelled on the Continent. In 1684 he came to Ireland and took up his work as Accountant-General. He married in 1693 a daughter of Sir Albert Cunningham, by whom he had three children. As regards his religious persuasion, Bonnell was an Anglican

told me y<sup>t</sup> he had an account of some ships seen at Baltimore who took away a ship out of harbour loaded with wine & brandy belonging to Md<sup>a</sup> Dermor, y<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> severall ports of Ireland y<sup>re</sup> were brought in near ten English & Dutch prizes.

Mr T—h & C: W: <sup>107</sup> visited me, we discoursed of y<sup>e</sup> affaires of y<sup>e</sup> parish. I was told y<sup>t</sup> with a little pains I might get out, which I did not believe, that L: M: had bin shot—[48]—if the King had not turned him out, <sup>108</sup> y<sup>t</sup> they had taken a resolution to fight & were getting together a great army in order to it, that y<sup>e</sup> Clergy of Dublin were all to be put up, y<sup>t</sup> Duke Tyr: was to be our Governour to thursday next, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>n</sup> Boysleau was to be Governour of this place & to have two regiments to defend it; <sup>109</sup> that a frenchman was put in y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> odium of what was to be don might fall on them.

At 8 in the morning I heard y<sup>e</sup> chimes of C: Church from w<sup>n<sup>ce</sup></sup> I concluded y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Church was restored, which I found to be true, but much out of order.<sup>110</sup> I desired an account which was promised by y<sup>e</sup> V: of S<sup>t</sup> patrick's Mr Rouse <sup>111</sup> who came to me on y<sup>e</sup> 27 <sup>112</sup> in the morning.

I gave 7<sup>d</sup> received in charity at the communion to be distributed by Churchwardens, and ordered y<sup>e</sup> distribution of three bāfels of beef given by C. A'. S.

of the High Church school. He had a great desire to resign his secular employment and take Holy Orders, but was hindered from doing so by the difficulty of securing a successor who would worthily fill his post of responsibility. He was a promoter of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, which were a striking feature of the religious life of the closing years of the seventeenth century. His most intimate friends were King, Foley, Dopping, and Wettenhall (Bishop of Kilmore). The first of these composed his epitaph, and the last preached the sermon at his funeral. He died of fever, 28th April, 1699, and was buried the next day in St. John's Church. Compare the article on him by the late Dr. J. A. Carr in the *Churchman* for October, 1899; Hughes, *Church of St. John*, p. 111; D. N. B., vol. v., p. 355.

(107) Perhaps Mr. Trench, a clergyman, and Mr. Wingfield, a lawyer, who, with Capt. King, escaped from Dublin in an open boat, May, 1690 (Story, p. 64). For Mr. Wingfield see also above, note 2.

(108) Lord Melfort? It seems to have been on the previous day (25th August) that he was 'turned out'—in other words, sent to France (*Stuart Papers*, p. 46). See below, note 381.

(109) Tyrconnell was left in Dublin for the purpose of collecting troops and despatching them to Drogheda as quickly as possible. He was just recovering from an illness (*Life*, p. 374). What exactly is meant by his being Governor, and being succeeded in that office by Boiseleau, is not clear. Simon Luttrell was Governor of Dublin (*Life*, p. 378).

(110) This is explained by the following entry in the Chapter minutes of Christ Church: "On Wednesday the 7th of Aug., 1689, Christ Church was searched and seized.—On Sunday the 25th Aug., 1689, the keys were again restored." It is curious that this is not mentioned in S. P. I., chap. III., § 18, pp. 209, 215.

(111) I have noted only one reference to Rouse in the Chapter minutes of St. Patrick's. It is under the date 6th December, 1688, and runs thus: "Then Mr. John Rouse ordered for to allow to Mrs. Brady, widow of Mr. Robert Brady, three pounds ster. which must be deducted out of Mr. Rouse's Sallary." The letter 'V.' in the text may stand for 'Verger.' Rouse does not appear to have been on the clerical staff of the Cathedral.

(112) If this figure is correct, this part of the Diary cannot have been written on the day (26th August), the events of which it describes. Compare below, note 148. But see next note.



[49]—*Aug. 27.*—M<sup>r</sup> K. came & gave me a visite. We discoursed of severall things of importance, he informed me from M<sup>r</sup> Jones of M<sup>r</sup> Rouses having taken y<sup>e</sup> Deanry of S<sup>t</sup> Patrick's from y<sup>e</sup> p: Dean for 60.<sup>113</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Cumberford told me y<sup>t</sup> my bed & y<sup>e</sup> other beds must go to y<sup>e</sup> camp. Some goods were brought into y<sup>e</sup> Castle s<sup>d</sup> to be D. T.'s: a black trunk was carried out of M<sup>r</sup> Crows room which M<sup>r</sup> Cumber: s<sup>d</sup> contained papers left by M<sup>r</sup> Alaway. M<sup>r</sup> Weaver came up in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon & y<sup>re</sup> was some talk of Cum: saying y<sup>t</sup> we shoud go with y<sup>m</sup> when they went to y<sup>e</sup> field. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon it was told us y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> french & English fleets had ingaged & y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> first had y<sup>e</sup> worst & y<sup>t</sup> Carrigfergus was possessed by the invaders. I learnt that Walker late governour of Derry was sent for by y<sup>e</sup> P: O: <sup>114</sup> y<sup>t</sup> Eniskilling people were in great Disorder till Wolsely came to them, <sup>115</sup> y<sup>t</sup> near 10<sup>m</sup> dyed in Derry with hunger & sickness, & many other particulars. I sent to provide a bed in case y<sup>e</sup> bed I lay on shoud be taken away. I<sup>d</sup> May: steward, and one bragstone came up from —[50]—the guardroom, who were prisoners y<sup>re</sup> because a court marshal as said was kept y<sup>e</sup>, I spoke to neither.

*Aug. 28.*—A great Court or meeting of the officers was held in the Castle. D. T: was there, it was said D. T: must go to the camp for y<sup>e</sup> soldiers woud not fight with him: <sup>116</sup> brass mony was 3 shill<sup>s</sup> in the

(113) This entry is enigmatical. If Rouse came to visit the Dean "on the 27 in the morning," why did he not get the particulars of the transaction—whatever it may have been—from himself, instead of indirectly through Mr. Robert King? Mr. Jones is Richard Jones, Notary Public and Registrar of St. Patrick's. He was also on the 25th June, 1689, appointed Registrar of the Liberty of St. Patrick's, and Registrar, Clerk, and Proctor of St. Sepulchre's Liberty. (Chapter Minutes.) But what is the nature of the transaction referred to? With much hesitation I suggest that 'p: Dean' is to be read 'pro-Dean,' and that Mr. Henry Price, who was nominated as Sub-Dean by King shortly after his imprisonment, is the person indicated. The rest I must leave to the ingenuity of my readers.

(114) Walker was commissioned by the inhabitants of Derry, after the raising of the siege, to bear a loyal address to King William. He left Derry on the 9th August, and after a triumphal progress through Scotland and England reached London about the 20th. He was received by the king, apparently on the 24th, or some later day in August. William gave him £5000. There is no record, so far as I am aware, that he was 'sent for' by the king: but William addressed a letter to him and Mitchelbourne, his colleague as Governor of Derry, on the 16th, of which King may have heard. It is printed in *A Concise View of the Origin, &c., of the Honorable Society of the Governor and Assistants of London of the New Plantation in Ulster, commonly called the Irish Society*, London, 1832, p. 189, and elsewhere. See also Walker's *Vindication of the True Account of the Siege of Derry*, London, 1689, p. 28: *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ii. (1854), p. 269; Luttrell, pp. 373, 575; J. N., p. 87; D. N. B., lix., p. 55.

(115) William Wolsley accompanied Kirk to Ireland as Lieutenant-Colonel of Hanmer's regiment. A deputation from the Enniskillen men having waited on Kirk on the 12th July, 1689, he appointed officers for their regiments. Among the rest he made Wolsley Commander-in-Chief, and Colonel of Horse. The deputation took leave of Kirk on Sunday, the 20th July, and having landed near Ballyshannon on the 26th, they proceeded at once to Enniskillen, which they reached on the 28th. Two days later Wolsley led his troops to the victory of Newtown Butler. He distinguished himself at the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, and succeeded Mountjoy as Master-General of Ordnance in August, 1692. He died in December, 1697 (Hamilton, pp. 31–33; D. N. B., lxii., p. 323. See also *Lough Erne*, p. 19).

(116) A slip for 'without'?

pound for exchange. There was much discourse of some ships seen about Skerry's.<sup>117</sup> In the afternoon M<sup>r</sup> Pole<sup>118</sup> came up & told us y<sup>t</sup> only 25 were excepted in Schomberg's declaration from pardon; <sup>119</sup> he had some hopes of getting a copy of it.

Aug. 29.—D. T: went to S<sup>t</sup> Stephen's green to view some regiment, they were not full nor well armed he was angry at it & checked y<sup>e</sup> officers as was told us he reduced also one regiment to 3 companys. Coll. Clifford came to visite us in the morning. M<sup>rs</sup> Fitz: told him y<sup>e</sup> King had made her an ill housewife by confining her husband & she hoped woud allow her a pension for spoiling her; to which he replied that perhaps he woud during his short reign. He was asked w<sup>a</sup> his majesty woud come back, he replied not till he was beaten back; and added—[\*]—after a while that this was his Majesty's last stake, y<sup>t</sup> he must either conquer now or lose all. A (?) M<sup>rs</sup> F. went to wait on y<sup>e</sup> D. T. in the afternoon with y<sup>e</sup> B. L. who dined with us.<sup>120</sup> He told her upon her delivering a petition about her husband that he knew nothing of his confinement till a day or two ago, and seemed to wonder at it.

M<sup>rs</sup> C: came to us in the afternoon & told us y<sup>t</sup> L. T.<sup>121</sup> owed her 12<sup>lb</sup>, 6<sup>lb</sup> for rent, & 6<sup>lb</sup> for malt she had bestowed in charity on y<sup>e</sup> nunry.<sup>122</sup> She had frequently petitioned & spoke to her about y<sup>t</sup>, yesterday she had promised her positively her mony & to give her steward order about it, & had bidden her come for it to day w<sup>ch</sup> she did she met my Lady's steward who told her y<sup>t</sup> he had by order from L. T: sent four men to bring away her copper which cost 60<sup>lb</sup>. This startled M<sup>rs</sup> C. who told

(117) Skerries is the name of a fishing village in the County Dublin, about three miles from Balbriggan, so called from some islands off the coast. I have not found elsewhere a notice of any ships passing it during the month of August, 1689.

(118) Mr. Perrian Poole? See above, note 2.

(119) Compare Luttrell, p. 571: "The Committee of Irish gentlemen mett the 19th [August], by order of the committee of the council for Irish affairs, and had before them the matter about a pardon to be sent over into Ireland, and debated what number of persons to except in the same, and by the majority agreed to except 54."

(120) Apparently the Bishop of Limerick (Simon Digby), one of the few prelates of the Established Church remaining in Ireland (S. P. I., chap. III., § 12, p. 150).

(121) Lady Tyrconnell. Fanny Jennings, Tyrconnell's second wife, was a sister of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough. Her first husband was Sir George Hamilton.

(122) King (S. P. I., chap. III., § 9, p. 123) states that two nunneries were established under James II. in Dublin. One of these was that called 'Gratia Dei,' in Ship-street, the charter of which is printed in Harris's *King William*, App., p. lx. It is dated 5 June, 1690, and therefore the monastery of Gratia Dei cannot be referred to here. The other was in Channel-row (now North Brunswick-street). The Chapel was consecrated by Archbishop Patrick Russell, in the presence of King James, not three months before the incident related in the text occurred, 6 June, 1689. *Collections on Irish Church History from the MSS. of the late V. Rev. Laurence F. Renehan*, edited by D. M'Carthy, vol. i., p. 232. My friend the Bishop of Canea informs me that this Chapel still exists in the Richmond Surgical Hospital, and is known as 'the Chapel Ward.' The statement that Lady Tyrconnell's debt was of two years' standing seems to imply that the nunnery was founded a considerable time before the consecration of the Chapel. Harris confuses this establishment with the Royal Nunnery of 'Gratia Dei,' when he gives the date of the foundation of the latter as 6th June, 1689 (*Ware's Works*, 1745, vol. ii., p. 274).



him that she could not believe it, that she came for 12<sup>lb</sup> which being a debt of 2 years standing her Grace had positively promised it y<sup>t</sup> morning. He assured her it was tru & desired her to make application to his Lady which she—[52]—did, & with much ado obtained of her Grace an order to stop y<sup>e</sup> bringing away y<sup>e</sup> copper on condition y<sup>t</sup> she should not call for y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>lb</sup>.

Mem. Coll. Cliff. told us y<sup>t</sup> Boysleau was to be governour of Dublin & y<sup>t</sup> it was very like y<sup>t</sup> he would burn y<sup>e</sup> town.

M<sup>rs</sup> Bolt (?) came to visite M<sup>r</sup> O. and told him y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> ca<sup>re</sup> (?) men offered to bring her daughter Smith from Galway. She asked how the expected to get there, to which they answered that they were to carry down the King's good y<sup>e</sup> but under other names; & y<sup>t</sup> they would be allowed to bring up whom they pleased.

*Aug. 30.*—Nothing memorable.

*Aug. 31.*—There came up M<sup>r</sup> Smith who told y<sup>t</sup> Ca<sup>rig</sup>fergus was certainly taken, & the Duke of B: had gotten a ruffle near Newry. M<sup>r</sup> B: told us y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> came an order from Schomberg to Eniskilling people to march down to Ardmagh which they did to y<sup>e</sup> number of 6<sup>m</sup>. We heard also that Athlone was invested with men s<sup>d</sup> to be landed at Sligo.<sup>123</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Sp.<sup>124</sup> told me y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> D. T: told him y<sup>t</sup> the expected the K. back within 3 or 4 days at farthest.<sup>125</sup> We had troublesome centrys who denyed our friends—[53]—only one at a time, upon which we had some dispute with y<sup>m</sup>. In the afternoon y<sup>e</sup> came up a ser<sup>t</sup> of M<sup>r</sup> F: who told him that his coachman's brother had written up y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Irish army did not stand before y<sup>e</sup> English, that many had thrown down y<sup>e</sup> arms & Schomberg intended to be in a little time at Drogheda & y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> K. intended for Munster. We heard also y<sup>t</sup> Chief J. N. was gone with all his furniture & many other incredible things.<sup>126</sup>

*Sep. 1.*—I preacht 2 on Gal. 5. 17.<sup>127</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> came up y<sup>e</sup> people below that came up the last Sunday & likewise Cap<sup>t</sup> Anderson, one Smith<sup>128</sup> & Blackstone.

(123) These reports, except with regard to Carrickfergus, seem to have been unfounded. Berwick was probably by this time at Newry, though the date of his arrival there is unknown; but it is not likely that there were any of the opposing forces there to give him a 'ruffle.' Some of the Enniskilleners had joined Schomberg at Carrickfergus (see Introduction, p. 133 *sq.*), and marched with him to Dundalk. The rest appear to have remained near Enniskillen. There is no mention of Athlone being invested in the *Life*, where such a fact could scarcely have been passed over.

(124) Mr. Spike?

(125) We can scarcely believe that Tyrconnell really expected this. James was most anxious to fight Schomberg, and had given orders to Tyrconnell to hasten the troops from Dublin. He would hardly have left his army at this juncture in the hands of generals who approved a quite different policy (*Life*, p. 373 *sq.*).

(126) King justly describes these rumours as incredible. They were absolutely false. So far from retreating to Munster (or to Athlone, as de Rosen wished), James would have pressed on at once to Dundalk if he had had sufficient cavalry (*Life*, p. 375).

(127) From the Epistle for the day—the 14th Sunday after Trinity.

(128) Perhaps the Mr. Smith mentioned under 31st August and 2nd September.



*Sep. 2.*—My bed, M<sup>r</sup> Crows & M<sup>r</sup> Ormsby's were taken away & some other furniture of the room. y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> guard was very troublesome to us & hindered our friends from coming to us. We heard a noise of mens landing in Munster but did not believe. M<sup>r</sup> Smith came up and told us L<sup>d</sup> T: had chid Sir John Davis for being without his sword, & bestowed a sword on him.<sup>129</sup> He further intimated that y<sup>e</sup> fleet had not yet fought.

[54]—M<sup>r</sup> C. came up & told me y<sup>t</sup> it was resolved Dublin should not be injured & it was contrived so y<sup>t</sup> L. C:<sup>130</sup> should be left at his house, that L<sup>d</sup> C. J. N. was not gone as reported but was going. M<sup>r</sup> Fr:<sup>131</sup> came to me & told me y<sup>t</sup> an excommunication came to him from y<sup>e</sup> Bi: of Galway a pretended Vicar General of y<sup>e</sup> Diocese,<sup>132</sup> this I had seen before with y<sup>e</sup> Sexton, I ordered y<sup>t</sup> it should not be read, nor any submission paid to his citations or notice taken of y<sup>m</sup>, other y<sup>n</sup> declining or protesting against y<sup>m</sup>. There came likewise M<sup>rs</sup> D——r to se me & told me y<sup>t</sup> she had bin at a place where I was spoken of, & a R. C. said y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> reason of my confinement was my writting against M. M.<sup>133</sup> upon which it was by way of reply asked, whether this was y<sup>e</sup> liberty of conscience meant by the K.<sup>134</sup>

*Sep. 3.*—M<sup>r</sup> Crow was preparing to go out his liberty being promised him upon condition he would give a note to pay such fees as y<sup>e</sup> law would adjudge. We were told also y<sup>t</sup> my L<sup>d</sup> Kinsale<sup>135</sup> had in his

(129) Sir John Davis, youngest son of Sir Paul Davis, was a prominent citizen of Dublin at this period. He had been Principal Secretary of State under Charles II. (A. R., pp. 302, 313, 328, 334, 341), having been knighted about 1673. He was imprisoned in Newgate in July (see above, note 2), and subsequently in Trinity College (*An Exact Account of the Royal Army under the Command of His Grace the Duke of Schomberg*, London, 1689), and, after his release, complained to Luttrell of the treatment the prisoners received (S. P. I., chap. III., § 7, p. 93). See further below, 28th October. Tyrconnell's reproach of Sir John Davis for not having a sword is difficult to understand, for by Proclamation of 20th July, 1689, Protestants were forbidden to wear swords (S. P. I., chap. III., § 8, p. 113).

(130) See below, note 136.

(131) Mr. Fr: (or, as it may perhaps be read, Tr:) I cannot identify. For the Sexton, see below, note 141.

(132) John Gordon, Bishop of Galloway. See Introduction, p. 124.

(133) Mr. Manby. Peter Manby, admitted a Minor Canon of St. Patrick's, 23rd November, 1660, was appointed Chancellor of the same cathedral in 1666, and Dean of Derry in 1672. He subsequently became a Roman Catholic, still retaining his Deanery by dispensation. On the controversy between him and King, see *Worthies*, pp. 181 *sq.*, 185–90.

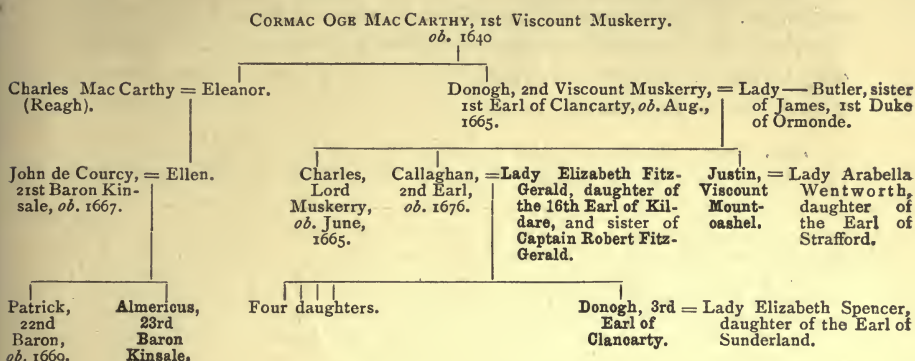
(134) The allusion is to the Act for Liberty of Conscience passed by Parliament, June, 1689, and to Proclamations to the same effect. Compare S. P. I., chap. III., § 14, p. 181 (*recte*, 189).

(135) Almericus de Courcey, 23rd Baron Kinsale. He was born in 1664, and succeeded to the title in 1669, when he was only five years of age. Like his cousin, Clancarty (cf. below, note 231), he was at an early age placed under the tuition of Dr. Fell, who gives a not altogether attractive description of his character, quoted by D'Alton. If the statement in the text may be credited, Fell was not very successful in imbuing his pupils with the principles of Protestantism. However, so far as I am aware, it lacks confirmation. Lord Kinsale was Lieutenant-Colonel

sickness declared himself a papist, that L<sup>d</sup> C: <sup>136</sup> had other thoughts. M<sup>r</sup> del <sup>137</sup> came to se—[55]—me & told me y<sup>t</sup> Charlemount was yielded <sup>138</sup> & y<sup>t</sup> Gordon O'Neil had gone over to y<sup>e</sup> invaders.<sup>139</sup>

*Aug. (Sept.) 4.*<sup>140</sup>—M<sup>r</sup> Bulkley brought me a citation from y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Galway against one of my parishioners. I took it from him & bid him send y<sup>e</sup> apparitor to me. I sent to y<sup>e</sup> Bis: of M. an account of that matter. M<sup>r</sup> D. brought me his answer y<sup>t</sup> he advised y<sup>e</sup> Clergy to meet about it.<sup>141</sup> M<sup>r</sup> B. came to see me. We discoursed of Many,

of Sarsfield's Horse (Lodge, vol. vi., p. 155; D'Alton, p. 144). A genealogical table will show the relationship of this nobleman to other persons mentioned in the Diary.



(136) Lord Clancarty (?). This guess is borne out by the mention of his cousin in the immediate context.

(137) Mr. Delany. He was the bearer of the letter to Bishop Dopping, dated 7th September (Appendix, No. iv.), and probably also of that which was written on the day of his visit (Appendix, No. ii.).

(138) Charlemont, on the River Blackwater, 6 miles north of Armagh, was regarded as a most important post. It was garrisoned by a regiment of foot under Buchan when Schomberg landed (*Life*, p. 372). The report that it had surrendered, recorded in the text, was false. The capitulation did not take place till 12th May, 1690, and an amusing story is told of the interview on that day between the governor, 'Old Teague' O'Regan, and Schomberg (*Story*, p. 60). On the many futile attempts made by the Williamite Army to subdue it see S. P. D., pp. 36 (a letter from Schomberg, which should have been at p. 519), 252, 287, 336, 368, 374, 413, 458, 498, 561, 563: cf. also *An Account of the Town and Castle of Charlemont in Ireland, Besieg'd by a Detached Body . . . under the Command of Lieutenant General Douglas*, London, 1689. On 12th September King James had a force of 400 men there (S. P. D., p. 252).

(139) Another false report. Gordon O'Neill was a son of Sir Phelim O'Neill by his third wife. He was a captain of Grenadiers in Mountjoy's Regiment, and afterwards raised a regiment of infantry for King James. He was wounded at the siege of Derry, served at the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, and died in 1704. (D. N. B., xlii., p. 207; S. P. D., p. 386; *Story*, p. 98; D'Alton, p. 833; J. N., pp. 111, 141, 148, 188, 228, 277; S. P. I., pp. 327, 331, 344, 375 (*recte*, 383).

(140) 'Sept.' is a correction, written above the line.

(141) The Bishop of Galway is John Gordon, Bishop of Galloway in Scotland (Introduction, p. 124). In his letter of the 3rd September (App. No. ii.), King says that he had seen an excommunication directed by him against one Clinton, a surgeon

particularly how he was to behave himself in his imployment.<sup>142</sup> He had no account from y<sup>e</sup> country.

*Aug. (Sept.) 5.*—M<sup>rs</sup> Moor came & gave us a visite with her two daughters.<sup>143</sup> There came up a lieut. with her. We went to cards. He sate by all the while & said his orders were not to suffer M<sup>rs</sup> Moor to discourse her husband but in his hearing. We ralleyd him on this subject but he was so dull y<sup>t</sup> he could not understand it.<sup>144</sup>

[56]—My L<sup>d</sup> T: went away about noon. Y<sup>e</sup> old woman came in in the morning & told us y<sup>t</sup> we were all to be blown up. M<sup>r</sup> Doyle<sup>145</sup> told us y<sup>t</sup> Coll. Barker did not intend to go away till Saturday & y<sup>t</sup> he would treat us better, y<sup>t</sup> it was with difficulty y<sup>e</sup> guards would let him up, tho deputy constable & our proper keeper. One Cap<sup>t</sup> Bagget was y<sup>e</sup> cause of this strickness.<sup>146</sup> He came up to Coll. Moor & suffered him to discourse with his wife, but s<sup>d</sup> he would not suffer any other to discourse with y<sup>e</sup> prisoners only y<sup>re</sup> wives, children & ser<sup>ts</sup> for he knew how prisoners were treated in y<sup>e</sup> plot time in England.<sup>147</sup>

*Sep. 6.*—Cornelius came up and told us y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King was to come back in a day or two which proved false.<sup>148</sup> Cumberford s<sup>d</sup> y<sup>t</sup> he must take

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of St. Werburgh's parish. It was addressed to the minister of the parish, who at this time was Samuel Foley. But Foley had fled from Dublin (Introduction, p. 120). Now a Mr. Buckley was appointed sexton of St. Werburgh's in 1687, during King's incumbency, and held office till 1715 (Hughes, *The Church of St. Werburgh, Dublin*, Dublin, 1889, p. 155). He is therefore, probably, the Mr. Bulkley of the text (cf. 2nd September); and the 'account of that matter' is the letter printed in the Appendix (No. ii.), sent the previous day to Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, by the hands of Delany (see note 137). The mention of it here is merely introductory to the statement that the answer was brought by Mr. D. (Delany). The apparitor whom King directed Bulkley to send to him—and who doubtless disregarded his message—was probably William Budworth. (See Introduction, p. 125.) Compare note 7 to letter vi. in the Appendix. The answer of the Bishop of Meath is not now forthcoming.

(142) I have no doubt that Mr. B. is James Bonnell, on whom see above, note 106. The difficulties of the office of Accountant-General under the government of 1689 must have been, to a sincerely religious Protestant, very many, and we can easily understand that he would wish to consult his friend about them.

(143) Mrs. Moor's 'two daughters' were probably Mrs. Foley, wife of the Chancellor of St. Patrick's, and Mrs. Scroggs, wife of Benedict Scroggs, D.D., then a Fellow of Trinity College, and subsequently (1695-6) Prebendary of St. John the Evangelist in Christ Church (Hughes, *The Church of St. Werburgh, Dublin*, p. 57).

(144) King possibly had this visit in memory when he wrote, "During their Confinement, the Prisoners were kept very strictly, their Servants, Children, and Wives, were often debarred from seeing them; or when admitted, not suffered to speak to them, but in presence of the Soldiers" (S. P. I., chap. III., § 7, p. 93).

(145) Apparently identical with Lieut. Doyle, who is several times mentioned. There are two Lieutenants of this name in King James' Army List, one in the Earl of Westmeath's, the other in Oliver O'Gara's Regiment of Foot (D'Alton, pp. 734, 774).

(146) Capt. Mark Baggot of Grace's Infantry (D'Alton, p. 800) is perhaps the person referred to. He was afterwards executed as a spy (J. N., p. 129). A Lieut.-Col. Baggot was taken prisoner at Aughrim (D'Alton, p. 801).

(147) The reference is, of course, to the supposed plot of 1678.

(148) This sentence cannot have been written till a few days after 6th September. Compare above, note 112.



away y<sup>e</sup> furniture of y<sup>e</sup> room. I bid him do as he pleased. We heard that an English gazet was in town, which gave an account of y<sup>e</sup> beating y<sup>e</sup> French fleet. We heard from M<sup>r</sup> S——h that Newry was deserted & partly burnt but y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> invaders came in & saved some part.<sup>149</sup> At night M<sup>r</sup> D. F.<sup>150</sup> Lieut. Doyle & another visited us and talkt impertinently —[57]—being half drunk. Cap. Fitz: told us how he had rifled long ago near 80 arms from y<sup>e</sup> Marshalse & y<sup>t</sup> it was little less y<sup>n</sup> high treason to conceal any arms when the King commanded y<sup>m</sup> to be brought in.<sup>151</sup> Doyle said y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> was satisfaction given where arms were taken away. I told him y<sup>t</sup> I knew y<sup>e</sup> contrary & gave instances to which he made a saucy and impertinent answer. He owned Newry was taken & said Coll. B:<sup>152</sup> bid him ly in our room when he went away Cap<sup>t</sup> Fitz: told us y<sup>t</sup> Cumb: had signified to him his intention of stripping us, so he expressed y<sup>e</sup> taking away y<sup>e</sup> furniture of y<sup>e</sup> room & y<sup>t</sup> he had made M<sup>rs</sup> Fitz: sneak away when he threatened her with it. I told y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> lattor part was false & y<sup>t</sup> I woud rather endure anything y<sup>n</sup> be beholden to him for any favour he coud shew me.

*Sep. 7.*—We heard y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Newry was taken the duke of Berwick<sup>153</sup> having left it, but y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> was not time allowed y<sup>m</sup> to burn it all, y<sup>t</sup> Schomberg was come as far as Dundalk,<sup>154</sup> & some s<sup>d</sup> as far as Lergan race<sup>155</sup>

(149) See Introduction, p. 133 *sq.* Story (p. 13) says that when Schomberg entered Newry the flames were "not quite extinguished," which leaves a different impression from that given by the statement in the text.

(150) Mr. D. F. seems to be the same person who is called 'Capt. Fitz.' in the next sentence, and 'Capt. F.' under the date 9th September. He was, perhaps, Capt. David Fitzgerald, of McEllicott's Foot (D'Alton, p. 913).

(151) Compare S. P. I., chap. III., § 3, p. 67, where it is stated that Wolf, the sub-verger of Christ Church, who was arrested this very day (6th September), was declared by Nugent to have been guilty of treason for concealing arms. The Churches had been seized for the purpose of searching them for arms. (*Ib.* chap. III., § 18, p. 209).

(152) Col. Barker(?). See above, 5th September, and note 60.

(153) James Fitzjames, eldest son of James II., by Arabella Churchill, sister of the first Duke of Marlborough. He was born at Moulins 21st August, 1670, and in 1686, when he was only sixteen years of age, acquired some distinction as a soldier. He was created Duke of Berwick by his father in 1687, and followed him in his flight to France the next year. He served at the siege of Derry and at the chief battles of the war which followed. In February, 1690–1, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the absence of Tyrconnell, but does not appear to have shown much ability while he held that post. Later on, however, he won many laurels on the Continent, and was killed at the siege of Phipsburg in 1734 (D. N. B., xix., p. 178, where references are given to the authorities).

(154) This report was a little in advance of the facts. Schomberg only left Newry on the 7th, arriving at Dundalk the same day. But an advance party under Lord Lisburn preceded the main army (Story, p. 14; S. P. D., p. 251).

(155) Probably the River Fane, three miles south of Dundalk—"the river that goes down to Largon" (*Life*, p. 379). It is called apparently 'the Lurgan' in S. P. D., p. 278, and 'the River of Largon' is the name given to it in *Relation*, p. 7. The village at the mouth of the Fane is now called Lurgangreen. The name 'Lurgan race' occurs in *A Journal of what has past in the North of Ireland Since the Landing of the Duke of Schomberg, to the Surrender of Carrick-Fergus*, London, 1689 (a letter dated Belfast, 25th August, 1689).

& Germanstown.<sup>156</sup> I had an answer from the B: M. to which I sent an answer by M<sup>r</sup> D.<sup>157</sup>

[58]—*Sep. 8.*—I preached twice on M: 6. 25.<sup>158</sup> There was M<sup>r</sup> Bragston at Sermon in the morning. We talk of several things. He told M Carty More was come to town<sup>159</sup> & y<sup>t</sup> he had seen several Munster gentlemen in y<sup>e</sup> invaders camp. M<sup>r</sup> L: came in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon & told us y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Lincoln<sup>160</sup> had declared y<sup>t</sup> the town shoud be burnt if the King chanced to be beaten & was very positive in it.

*Sep. 9.*—We had a venison pasty & M<sup>r</sup> Harold a fryer dined with us.<sup>161</sup> In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon M<sup>r</sup> F——h<sup>162</sup> came to se me & gave me an account of M<sup>r</sup> K——g being made a prisoner at y<sup>e</sup> Wheat Sheaf of which I had y<sup>e</sup> account añext from my man. M<sup>r</sup> Delany came up with an account of my business.<sup>163</sup> All this time two officers of y<sup>e</sup> guard were by & very rudely intruded on our privacy which we indured. Y<sup>re</sup> came up likewise an officer with a man & a letter to Coll. Moor while we were at diñer. He brought likewise a bill of exchange of twenty from Sir Thomas Southwell, but Coll. Moor refused to open the letter or accept y<sup>e</sup> bill because it came from a person with whom correspondence was not safe.<sup>164</sup>

(156) Gernonstown, now Castle Bellingham, in the County Louth, which is on the River Glyde, about 8 miles from Dundalk.

(157) What seems to be a rough draught of this answer from the Bishop of Meath is printed in the Appendix (No. iii.). The letter in reply to which it was written is lost. King's answer, sent by Mr. Delany, is No. iv. in the Appendix.

(158) St. Matt. vi. 24 *sqq.* was the Gospel for the day (15th Sunday after Trinity).

(159) M<sup>c</sup>Carthy More was the Governor of Carrickfergus, and on the surrender of that town was allowed to march with the garrison to Newry (Story, p. 10; *Life*, p. 374).

(160) Nicholas and Michael Lincoln were Aldermen of Dublin under the charter of 1687 (A.R., p. 473).

(161) In Mrs. Lyons' collection are two letters which bear no date, but apparently belong to the year 1690, signed by Francis Anthony Harold. It is highly probable that he is the friar mentioned in the text. His letters are directed "to the very R<sup>d</sup> father in god, Deane King, Dr. of Divinity, &c.," and beg his aid in recovering two trunks full of books. One had been 'taken from Mr. Coale's house' the previous day, the other ('a great trunk') he had 'lost in y<sup>e</sup> convent.' Harold was himself powerless in the matter, for he 'durst not be seen to appear for fear of y<sup>e</sup> Rabell.' It is interesting to find friendship maintained between the Protestant Dean, and the Roman Catholic Friar, at a time when religious feeling was so bitter. Francis Anthony Harold was, I suppose, a kinsman of a more famous Francis Harold, of Limerick, Chronographer of the Order of St. Francis, who died at Rome, 18th March, 1685 (D.N.B., xxiv., p. 426).

(162) Perhaps this should be read 'T——h.' See note 131.

(163) The business of the Bishop of Galloway. Delany probably brought a letter from Bishop Dopping in answer to that written by King on 7th September, and was the bearer of the reply to it (App., No. v.). He seems to have been the clergyman who was "assaulted and pusht at with a naked Sword several times, and carried, after they had sufficiently abus'd him, to Jail" (S.P.I., chap. xiv., § 19, p. 219).

(164) On Sir Thomas Southwell, see D.N.B., liii., p. 303. He was at this time a prisoner at Galway. The story of his attempt to proceed at the end of February, 1689, from Kinsale to Lord Kingston at Sligo, with over a hundred Protestants, his capture by Power, High Sheriff of Galway, and the incarceration of himself and his followers



At night Cap<sup>t</sup> F: & L<sup>t</sup> Doyle came up and—[59]—told us y<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Flower,<sup>165</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Long, & some others were killed at a fight at Carrigfergus and about 1.100 more. It was s<sup>d</sup> also y<sup>t</sup> Schomberg had sent to y<sup>e</sup> King to tell him y<sup>t</sup> if his army did not give over y<sup>e</sup> barbarous custom of burning the countrey he must torture all y<sup>e</sup> prisoners he had or coud catch, to death.<sup>166</sup> It was said likewise y<sup>t</sup> Kirk had gained y<sup>e</sup> bridge of Slane.<sup>167</sup> My Sexton told me that R. C: were generally removing y<sup>e</sup> goods.

Sep. 10.—M<sup>r</sup> Borridge came to se us.<sup>168</sup> there came up an officer with him y<sup>t</sup> as soon as he came in bid him say what he had to say quickly for he woud not stay or wait on him. He said several other insolent things. I cheekt him for y<sup>m</sup>. One bid M<sup>r</sup> Bor. speak latine he said he shoud not speak latine, with several other impertinencys. Upon which M<sup>r</sup> Fitz: began to speak latine. Y<sup>e</sup> officer laid hands on M<sup>r</sup> B. & woud have pulled him away by violence but coud not & finding we laught at him he went away in a fury & after a while brought his Cap<sup>t</sup> one Roch<sup>169</sup> who was a little civiller but yet took away M<sup>r</sup>. Bor: after this. My Churchwarders came to me with a letter from Sir W. Ellis to get my books for minister—[60]—mony.<sup>170</sup> I put it of till at liberty.

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in violation of the articles of surrender, is told by several pamphleteers of the time. See especially *Indictment*, p. 28 *sq.*, where the narrative is from the pen of one of the prisoners who escaped—Thomas Warner; *An account of the Transactions of the late King James in Ireland*, London, 1690, p. 20; S. P. I., chap. III., § 12, pp. 157-159, § 13, p. 170 *sq.*, p. 356; J. N., p. 42. After their capture the prisoners were tried for treason, and sentenced to be hanged and quartered. James, who had just landed at Kinsale, granted a reprieve, but a pardon could not be obtained, and the sentence was kept hanging over them for more than a year. Southwell himself escaped to Scotland. The rest obtained their release by the victory of the Boyne. In refusing to accept the bill Colonel Moor did wisely: see below, note 342.

(165) Perhaps the Captain Flower mentioned in connexion with Mr. Thomas Crow A. R., p. 429, vol. vi., p. 27. If so this report was untrue.

(166) The message, according to Story, p. 13, was that if James did not cease to burn the towns, Schomberg would give no quarter. Compare Luttrell, p. 583; S. P. D., p. 251; *Relation*, p. 5. The Jacobite answer, in a letter from Thomas English at the camp at Drogheda, "by command of the late commander-in-chief at Dundalk," to "the officer commanding-in-chief the enemy's army," taunts Schomberg with his alleged violation of the articles of capitulation at Carrickfergus, and proceeds to declare that "the king will retaliate the same usage towards his rebellious subjects, which he already has, or may have, and more especially towards those of the first quality" (S. P. D., p. 247).

(167) Untrue. Kirk was with Schomberg at Dundalk.

(168) Ezekiel Burridge, Scholar of Trinity College, 1683, B.A. 1684, M.A. 1687. He had been King's curate at Finglas (Cotton, vol. v., p. 122), and was one of the clergy of Dublin who suffered severe usage in 1689 (S. P. I., chap. III., § 19, p. 219. See his affidavit, *ib.*, p. 317). In 1694 Burridge was Vicar-General of Down and Connor (Cotton, vol. ii., p. 154); in 1702 he took the degree of LL.D.; in 1705, as Vicar-General of Dublin, he successfully resisted an attempt of the Crown to appoint a Dean to St. Patrick's Cathedral (Cotton, vol. v., p. 107), and, in 1706, he became Prebendary of Malahiddert in that cathedral (Mason, p. lxxix). He died before 1708. Harris *Ware's Works*, vol. iii., p. 263) states that Burridge was the author of three treatises, one of which was in the Latin language. He also published, in 1701, a Latin translation of Locke's *Essay*.

(169) See above, note 24.

(170) On the career of Sir William Ellis, see D. N. B., xvii., p. 295. He was at



They brought 6 bottles of wine we drank 3. The centry staid with us till I gave him a bottle all which he drank with y<sup>e</sup> other centries. M<sup>r</sup> Cope<sup>171</sup> was with me & brought 2 excommunication. M<sup>r</sup> Finglasse likewise in the morning.<sup>172</sup> I gave him direction about our chapter.

*Sep<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 11.*—We heard of near 80 persons clapt up in y<sup>e</sup> Queen's hospital.<sup>173</sup> M<sup>r</sup> F.<sup>e</sup>ser<sup>t</sup> W; had bin confined all night for carrying letters to y<sup>e</sup> post office,<sup>174</sup> which y<sup>e</sup> guard broke open but returned in y<sup>e</sup> morning. Before noon y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> guard came up & was very troublesome hindring M<sup>r</sup> Delany who had business with me to speak with me. I told him y<sup>t</sup> I firmly believed he had no such orders y<sup>t</sup> we were only used thus by impertinent persons & I endeavoured to show him the unreasonableness of it, but Cap<sup>t</sup> Roch for y<sup>t</sup> was his name seemed not to have sense or good manners to apprehend it. We heard at night that y<sup>e</sup> shops on y<sup>e</sup> comb<sup>175</sup> & y<sup>e</sup> clothiers hall were robbed of several pieces of cloth; that some who were dismissed on bail were clapt up again, particularly one gentleman who had bin at 12<sup>lb</sup> charges in getting himself bailed; and y<sup>t</sup> Schomberg with his army were retreated towards Dundalk.<sup>176</sup>

[61]—*Sep. y<sup>e</sup> 13.*—Many were clapt up in y<sup>e</sup> Old hospital<sup>177</sup> & in y<sup>e</sup>

this time one of the Commissioners of Revenue, an Assessor for the City of Dublin, and a member of the Privy Council (S. P. I., p. 336; D'Alton, pp. 30, 869; A. R., pp. xlvii, 458, 460).

(171) I have failed to identify this person.

(172) John Finglass, Prebendary of St. Audoen's in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

(173) Strangely enough this is an *alias* for the King's Hospital, which in A. R., vol. vi., p. 294 (5th October, 1703), is called 'The queens Blew Coate Hospital in Oxmondtowne.' This reference I owe to the kindness of Sir Frederick R. Falkiner, Recorder of Dublin. The original buildings of King's Hospital stood a little to the east of the present structure (erected in 1773), and were on the west side of Queen's-street. It was possibly for this not very sufficient reason that the name 'Queen's Hospital' was occasionally given to them. It was in no other way appropriate; and no hospital in Dublin seems to have had any right to the title.

(174) Then in Fishamble-street (Gilbert, vol. i., p. 61).

(175) The long street running westwards from St. Patrick's Cathedral known as the Coombe.

(176) There was, of course, no retreat. Plainly King thought that the Williamite army had advanced beyond Dundalk. Compare Sept. 7, 9. O'Kelly, in like manner, represents Schomberg to have come to Drogheda, and finding it in James's hands, to have retired to Dundalk (*Macariae Excidium*, p. 39).

(177) There seem to have been only three hospitals in Dublin at this time. Since neither the Military Hospital at Kilmainham (see note 224) nor the King's Hospital (note 295) could be described as 'old,' the one here intended must be 'The great house commonly called the Hospital situate in Back-lane' (A. R., vol. iv., p. 543, under the date 23rd August, 1671). This 'Mass House' originally belonged to the Jesuits, but in the early part of the seventeenth century was taken from them and became a College united to Trinity College. Having been for a short time again in the hands of the Jesuits, it was made a Government hospital under Charles II., and finally in 1672 a charter was issued for re-opening in it the old City Free School. (See Gilbert, vol. i., p. 240 *sqq.*). It will be observed that Back-lane is mentioned in the immediate context.

College which was made a garison.<sup>178</sup> It was s<sup>d</sup> several houses in back lane<sup>179</sup> were pulled down to clear y<sup>e</sup> City wall.

*Sep. 14.*—We had a great alarm in town of ships seen about Scirrys and it was s<sup>d</sup> some forces were landed.<sup>180</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Doyle came up & told us this. We could not get drink & things convenient because of y<sup>e</sup> hurry. The great gun in y<sup>e</sup> Castle yard was loaded. He told also of one Daniel<sup>181</sup> who by his own authority had clapt up many, but s<sup>d</sup> he, he is got into y<sup>e</sup> army, & is protected by y<sup>t</sup> means.

*Sep. 15.*—Word was sent me y<sup>t</sup> the bells were forbidden to be rung & service prohibited in all Churches by y<sup>e</sup> government. I preached twice on Eph. 3. 14.<sup>182</sup> The report of ships seen at y<sup>e</sup> Skerrys<sup>183</sup> proved to be only a few y<sup>t</sup> seemed to be driven in y<sup>e</sup> by stress of weather, who went off again. The number we could not learn. M<sup>r</sup> Crow got leave to go out with a sergeant to see his man M<sup>r</sup> Beck who died.<sup>184</sup> He came back to evening service.

*Sep. 16.*—Some barrels of powder were put under the prisoners y<sup>t</sup> were in Lord Longford's house, & it was told y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> they should be blown up if they stirred.

The scholars were turned out of y<sup>e</sup> College & not suffered to carry y<sup>e</sup> beds or books with them.<sup>185</sup>—[62]—Coll. Warren & M<sup>r</sup> Clark came to y<sup>e</sup> room next us.

(178) This had happened a week before, on the 6th (Stubbs' *History of the University of Dublin*, 1889, p. 129 *sq.*). It is curious that King should not have heard of it sooner. On Wednesday, 11th September, the College "was made a prison for the Protestants of the City, of whom a great number were confined to the upper part of the Hall" (College Register, quoted by Stubbs, *ib.*).

(179) The street running at the back of High-street, just inside the City Wall, from St. Nicholas-street to the New Gate.

(180) At Ardee, on the 14th, James "met with intelligence, that about twelve sail of the enemy's fleet were the day before up with the Skerries and fired many guns, which drew the militia and such numbers down to the shore, that they durst not venture upon it, but bore away large to the southward, where they ply'd too and again, betwixt Hoath and Bullock, with a design, as it is thought, to animate the malignant party (if any such were in Dublin) to rise." After a time "they vainly stood off to sea and were soon out of sight" (Nibell, p. 221). This is in substantial agreement with the account given in a letter of 30th September (S. P. D., p. 279). But the ships were only five in number—frigates which left Carrickfergus 13th (qy. 12th) September, under the command of Rooke. They landed 200 men at Skerries, and entered Dublin Bay, on their way to Cork, which was reached on the 18th (S. P. D., pp. 257, 271 *sq.*). The incident was made the pretext for prohibiting Protestants from assembling for worship (S. P. I., chap. III., § 18, p. 215).

(181) The name does not occur in D'Alton's index. But it is possibly the anglicized form of O'Donnell.

(182) From the Epistle for the 16th Sunday after Trinity.

(183) See note 180.

(184) "Anthony Beck, gentleman, of the City of Dublin," had sufficient property to render desirable the making of a will, in which he provided for his wife and child. It was signed 15th September, 1689, and proved in August, 1690. In it he named his "loving and dear friend, Thomas Crow, Esq<sup>r</sup>," one of the "overseers in trust of" his will.

(185) Not quite accurate: "The scholars were all turned out by souldiers, and ordered to carry nothing with 'em but their books. But Mr. Thewles [one of the

*Sep. y<sup>e</sup> 17.*—The ships that lay at Skerry's came to y<sup>e</sup> harbour of Dublin. One came in & obliged a ship or two which was y<sup>e</sup> to run aground. They went off from thence towards Wicklow.<sup>186</sup> Several pieces of ordnance were placed on Bermingham's tower.<sup>187</sup>

*Sep. 18.*—It was said a wood boat from Wicklow was come in which met the ships & y<sup>t</sup> they had taken off an Englishman who was on board & given several letters to y<sup>e</sup> seamen to be delivered to y<sup>e</sup> friends in Dublin, intimating y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> French fleet needed not be feared & y<sup>t</sup> another army was to be landed.

*Sept. 19.*—Tom W. came to see me & told me y<sup>t</sup> the K. camp & y<sup>e</sup> invaders were near one another & a fight was expected every day. He told me also y<sup>t</sup> at Killeen about a fortnight ago there come (*sic*) a granadier into church in time of service & committed several rudenesses & when he was turned out by force he went & raised y<sup>e</sup> people upon them cryed out y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Protestants had murdered a granadier in Church & buried him in a vault. Upon which there was an assault made upon y<sup>e</sup> Church, y<sup>e</sup> seats pulled up & y<sup>e</sup> people abused & worse had followed had not y<sup>e</sup> governour come in & prevented it. He told me also y<sup>t</sup> a Lieut. & a soldier were hanged in Thomas street for pressing horses & selling y<sup>m</sup> afterwards. The great gun w<sup>h</sup> lay in y<sup>e</sup> Castle yard was taken away in order to be melted & coined. We observed more y<sup>n</sup> ordinary crowding & huÿ in the Castle yard.

[63]—*Sep. 20.*—M<sup>r</sup> F: came to us in the morning & told us y<sup>t</sup> something or other was amiss with y<sup>e</sup> K. forces for they were out of humor. About night 9 coachs were brought in with prisoners from a ship y<sup>t</sup> had license to go out but was brought back again. L<sup>t</sup> Doyle came up & brought M<sup>r</sup> Welsh with him who served Alderman Ram.<sup>188</sup> He turned me

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fellows] and some others were not permitted to take their books with 'em'' (Stubbs, *ut sup.*).

(186) See above, note 180.

(187) This is not what is now known as the Birmingham Tower, and which is the only one of the four original towers of the Castle still standing. This Tower was formerly called the Wardrobe Tower, and marks the south-east corner of the quadrangle. Birmingham's Tower stood at the south-west corner, and in it the Records were preserved from 1579. They were transferred to the Wardrobe Tower early in the last century, and apparently the name of the tower went with them. The original Birmingham's Tower was taken down and rebuilt in 1775 (W. J. Bayly, *Historical Sketch and Description of Dublin Castle*, pp. 27, 28).

(188) Alderman Abel Ram, son of Abel Ram, of Ramsfort, Co. Wexford, and grandson of Thomas Ram, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin (1605-1634), was a goldsmith. He took a leading part in the affairs of the city of Dublin for many years. He was elected alderman in 1675-6 (A. R., p. 100), and served on the Water Committee in 1676 and 1685 (*Ib.*, pp. 111, 369). He was one of the Auditors of the City Accounts from 1676 to 1687 (*Ib.*, pp. 126, 147, 162, 182, 197, 224, 259, 292, 368, 409, 449), and again in 1690 and 1691 (*Ib.*, pp. 506, 525), treasurer of the fund for building the new Tholsel in 1678 (*Ib.*, pp. 157, 192), a member of the committee which in 1683 and the following years investigated the finances of the city, which had been impoverished by this work (*Ib.*, pp. 269, 378), of a committee to consider a message from Clarendon relative to the admission of Roman Catholics to the freedom of the



out of my closet & shut in M<sup>r</sup> Welsh with w<sup>m</sup> the governor had ordered none shoud speak. His crime was sending a bill of exchange to England. He was not allowed a bed & y<sup>e</sup>fore I lent him my quilt off my bed. M<sup>r</sup> Short was confined after y<sup>e</sup> same manner in M<sup>r</sup> Ormsby's closet & he turned out. The constable of y<sup>e</sup> Castle allowed y<sup>m</sup> no beds.

*Sep. 21.*—M<sup>r</sup> Welsh & Short were continued in y<sup>e</sup> several apartments as formerly a mortar was placed in y<sup>e</sup> Castle yard instead of a great gun.

*Sep. 22.*—I preached 2<sup>ce</sup> on Luke 14. 1.<sup>189</sup> In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon y<sup>e</sup> came up to service M<sup>r</sup> Bragstone & two R. C:

*Sep. 23.*—D<sup>r</sup> F:<sup>190</sup> came up & told us y<sup>t</sup> his Church windows had bin broken, y<sup>t</sup> his people were disturbed by rude fellows at service, that his mony had all been seized at Alderman Rams, and only 22<sup>d</sup> left him.—[64]—Some 39 persons had bin taken up from y<sup>e</sup> 3 tuns in Michael's Lane,<sup>191</sup> who were in several rooms y<sup>e</sup> & hurried to several prisons.

*Sep. 24.*—We heard y<sup>t</sup> Schomberg kept his trenches and y<sup>t</sup> the K—— was very earnest to have him fight,<sup>192</sup> and that 500 barrels of ale were imposed on the bruers of Dublin to be sent down to y<sup>e</sup> camp every week, that the camp was in some want.

*Sep. 25.*—D<sup>r</sup> F. came again but brought us no news, only y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> protestants could not meet two or three in a house to eat or drink but they were clapt up; that two could not walk in the street but any rogue that pleased would seize on y<sup>m</sup> as the K. prisoners. We found that y<sup>e</sup> persons brought into prison monday & tuesday were kept without meat, Drink, candle, fire, bed, or so much as a stool to sit on.

city in 1686 (*Ib.*, pp. 391, 401), and of a committee to consider a proposal for building a workhouse in 1686–7 (*Ib.*, p. 419). He was Lord Mayor for 1684–5 (*Ib.*, p. 321), and was knighted during his Mayoralty, 13th November, 1684. He fled from Dublin in 1688 or 1689, and was attainted. He died before January, 1693–4 (A. R., vol. vi., p. 51). See also A. R., pp. 223, 247, 249 *sq.*, 286 *sq.*, 332, 382, 385, 397, 428, 443, 526.

(189) Gospel for the 17th Sunday after Trinity.

(190) Doubtless Nathaniel Foy, Scholar of Trinity College in 1663, Fellow of the College in 1671, D.D. 1684 (*Cat. of Grads.*). He was ordained Deacon, 20th October, 1669, and Priest, 29th May, 1670, both by the Bishop of Kildare, and was installed in Kildare Cathedral as second Canon, 5th October, 1670 (Cotton, vol. ii., p. 250, vol. v., p. 19). He was minister of St. Bride's Church, Dublin, and suffered violence and imprisonment in 1689 and 1690 (S. P. I., chap. iii., § 19, p. 218). He was appointed Bishop of Waterford in 1691, and died in Dublin, 31st December, 1707. See Carroll's *St. Bride's*, p. 15; Cotton, vol. i., p. 130.

(191) Michael's-lane runs to the north from High-street, at the back of the Synod Hall. The incident here referred to is more fully related under 27th September.

(192) Schomberg began to entrench himself on the 16th (Story, p. 19). See further Introduction, p. 16.

Sept. 26.—It was said that the K. had endeavoured to draw y<sup>m</sup> enemys (*sic*) to a fight on Saturday before y<sup>t</sup> they woud not be engaged<sup>193</sup> y<sup>t</sup> the K. camp was not well provided: y<sup>t</sup> a recruit of 4000 men came to Schomberg Sunday last & 40 ships<sup>194</sup> y<sup>t</sup> the like was expected every month if he had occasion: y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>ay<sup>195</sup> was either landed or to land with 8000 foot and 22 troops of horse: y<sup>t</sup> Sir Albert Connyngham<sup>196</sup> or some persons from Sligo had fallen heavily on Coll. Kelly,<sup>197</sup> Sir Ulick Burk<sup>198</sup> & his brother & their regiments near boyle.

[65].—Sep. 27.—M<sup>r</sup> Bragston came up in the afternoon & told us y<sup>t</sup> he & a great many more to y<sup>e</sup> number of 30 had been driven from the three tun tavern on this account—one Fitzgerald came in & enquired for a room, they told him that all y<sup>e</sup> rooms were full, he swore they were full with whiggs & that he woud empty them immediately, and he came with L<sup>t</sup> Doyle & some musquetiers & drove y<sup>m</sup> all through the street, some to y<sup>e</sup> Castle some to y<sup>e</sup> marshalsea<sup>199</sup> y<sup>t</sup> he with above twenty more were put into one room & there kept all night without bed fire or other conveniency. the next morning some made y<sup>e</sup> application to y<sup>e</sup> governour Luttrell<sup>200</sup> some he released without fees & some paid 2<sup>lb</sup> 10<sup>s</sup> or thereabout others were kept still y<sup>e</sup> was no crime or pretence of crime laid to y<sup>e</sup> charge. We likewise learnt that it was y<sup>e</sup> common practice for Doyle & others to get fees or affront protestants,

(193) This attempt was made on Saturday, 21st. September. See Introduction, p. 134.

(194) On Sunday, 22nd September, Hewitt's Horse and Ingoldsby's Foot reached the camp (Story, p. 24). "This afternoon [*i.e.* 20th September] came the first of our Ships up to *Dundalk* from *Carlingford* with Ammunition and Provisions" (*ib.*, p. 22).

(195) Mackay, the Williamite general in Scotland (?).

(196) Sir Albert Cunningham, or Conyngnam, was the second son of Alexander Cunningham, Dean of Raphoe (1630–1660), who settled at Mount Charles, Co. Donegal. He was appointed Lieutenant of Ordnance in Ireland in 1660, and knighted (not, however, by Charles II., as Lodge states) about 1666. He was dismissed by James II. in 1686, attainted in 1689, and killed by Rapparees 5th Sept., 1691. By his wife Mary, daughter of Robert Leslie, Bishop successively of Dromore, Raphoe and Clogher, he had six sons and three daughters, one of whom was married to James Bonnell (see above, note 106). The Marquess Conyngnam is his descendant in the female line (Lodge, vol. vii., p. 180; S. P. I., p. 244). For the incident here mentioned see Introduction p. 17. The substance of this note and much else I owe to G. D. Burtchaell, Esq.

(197) Colonel Charles O'Kelly, of Screen, County Galway, author of *Macariae Excidium*. See O'Callaghan's Memoir in his edition of that work, pp. xi–xix; D'Alton, p. 118.

(198) Sir Ulick Burke, Baronet, was one of the members for the County Galway in the Parliament of 1689. See below, note 216.

(199) "An apartment in the Black Dog Prison [Newgate-street] was used as the Sheriff's Prison or Marshalsea until the 'City Marshalsea' was established in 1704, on the Merchants' Quay, between Skipper's-alley and Swan-alley, where it continued till 1805" (*Irish Builder*, vol. xxix., p. 42).

(200) Simon Luttrell, eldest son of Thomas Luttrell, of Luttrellstown, County Dublin, was a son-in-law of Sir Thomas Newcomen, and had been Lieutenant-Colonel in his regiment. He was appointed Governor of Dublin by James. He died in 1698 (D. N. B., xxxiv., p. 301; D'Alton, p. 345).

to run about to eating houses & taverns or wherever they think to meet gentlemen together & to drive y<sup>m</sup> to jail.

[\*]—<sup>201</sup> *Sep. 27.*—M<sup>r</sup> Pierson came up & gave us account of his confinement in the College, y<sup>t</sup> he had bin clapt up before & bailed but yet was taken again. Twenty of y<sup>m</sup> were put into y<sup>e</sup> same room without fire or beds & y<sup>t</sup> powder was laid in the room under y<sup>m</sup> & they were told y<sup>t</sup> if the stirred they should be blown up.<sup>202</sup> Y<sup>t</sup> on Sunday, M<sup>rs</sup> Whiteside came w<sup>th</sup> her children to see her husband & y<sup>t</sup> the officer came & turned her out.<sup>203</sup> A tenant of M<sup>r</sup> Crows who lives on the Comb came to him & told y<sup>t</sup> as he came up he was questioned by the centry and y<sup>t</sup> he told him he went up to M<sup>r</sup> Crow who was in prison with C<sup>pt</sup> F. & Dean K. Cap<sup>t</sup> F. s<sup>d</sup> an officer named Ruth, I wonder what keep him there, for why do they not put y<sup>t</sup> rogue out of pain.

Mem: Y<sup>t</sup> on y<sup>e</sup> 26 M<sup>rs</sup> L. came to se me & told me y<sup>t</sup> one came into y<sup>e</sup> extange<sup>204</sup> to buy a purse to put gold in, which he had robbed from one M<sup>rs</sup> Taylor & y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> P. was robbed of 3 cards of silver or gold lace, openly in his shop, y<sup>t</sup> some who had robbed M<sup>r</sup> Longfield a papist<sup>205</sup> were put in prison but they secretly let such escape not daring to punish a vice so universall.

[66]—The guards & centrys were very strict & woud not suffer

(201) These two paragraphs are written on a loose sheet of paper slipped in between pp. 65, 66.

(202) King repeats this statement, on the authority of Sir John Davis, S. P. I., chap. III., § 7, p. 93. Compare 16th September.

(203) Whiteside was a prisoner in the Castle, but clearly not in the same part of it as King. See below, 30th October. And for the present incident, compare 5th September, 5th October.

(204) The Tholsel of Dublin was at the corner of Skinners'-row (now Christ Church-place) and Nicholas-street. It was rebuilt in 1683. In the upper storey was the Exchange, a room sixty feet in length, the windows of which were on the west side of the building, looking out on Nicholas-street (Gilbert, vol. i., p. 165, *sqq.*; A. R., pp. xxxiii, 46, 96, 101, 111, 153, 156, 157, 170, 192, 197, 254-257, 267, 269, 271, 291, 319, 348).

(205) Perhaps the same as "Mr. Robert Longfield, a Convert, and Clerk of the Quit-rents and Absentees Goods" (S. P. I., chap. III., § 12, p. 157, and p. 336). A letter from Mr. Robert Longfield to King, of the date 8th July, 1690, is preserved in Mrs. Lyons' collection. From it, it appears that Longfield was a Roman Catholic.



people to come to us. Twas whispered y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> K. was expected back very soon & y<sup>t</sup> men were landed near Cork,<sup>206</sup> but we supposed it might be only such an alarm as had bin at Dublin.

*Sept. 29.*—I preached twice on 1 Cor. 14.<sup>207</sup> & administered the holy sacrament. 13 of us received. M<sup>rs</sup> L: came to see her brother & told us y<sup>t</sup> last week M<sup>rs</sup> Frank Sarcfield told her that it was resolved in Council 6 weeks ago that Dublin should be burnt if y<sup>e</sup> K: were worsted & how,—but we lookt on this only as designed to make the citizens more zealous for y<sup>e</sup> K:<sup>s</sup> service when they thought y<sup>e</sup> own preservation depended on it it was told us y<sup>t</sup> a tallow chandler in fish shamble street had all his goods to y<sup>e</sup> value of an 100<sup>lb</sup> seized & taken away because he asked more y<sup>n</sup> y<sup>e</sup> proclamation allowed for a pound of candles. Twas observed in the order by y<sup>e</sup> deputy mayor for y<sup>e</sup> rate<sup>208</sup> goods such as were known to be most in y<sup>e</sup> hands of protestants were underrated; such as butter, beer, &c.

[67.]—M<sup>r</sup> Weaver told us his wool & the wool of some other gentlemen to y<sup>e</sup> valu of 700<sup>lb</sup> was seized on by y<sup>e</sup> comissioners.<sup>209</sup> Y<sup>re</sup> came up Cap<sup>t</sup> M<sup>g</sup>rah<sup>210</sup> & another & dined with us the discourse was about the Rap<sup>er</sup>ys who they said had ruined the country & the K. It was s<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> K. had commanded y<sup>e</sup> country between Drogheda & Dundalk to be burnt.<sup>211</sup> Coll. Worrens room was all floting with water. We offered him a place for his bed in one of our rooms but he did not accept it. We shewed M<sup>r</sup> Doyle his room & desired him to procure him another he s<sup>d</sup> he coud procure him one below but not above.

*Sept. 30.*—M<sup>rs</sup> Shaw came up to se me & told me that Alderman Rams books were taken & all his mony & goods discovered that his ser<sup>ts</sup>

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well thought of by King and Bonnell, who befriended absentee Protestants under James II. He asks to be informed “why a warr<sup>t</sup> is issued ag<sup>t</sup>” him. From an enclosed paper, in which his good deeds to the Protestants are enlarged upon, we learn that “Mr. Longfield is reflected on about seizing Absentees goods in this City”—the charges made against him being, of course, according to his contention, entirely unfounded. *A List of the several Persons in Civil Offices under the late King in Ireland*, printed in London, 1689, however, significantly informs us that he “manages all matters about Absentees Goods, & Estates, & all that People are robbed of.” On the seizing of the property of absentees, see S. P. I., chap. III., § 11, p. 128 *sq.*, p. 390 (*recte*, 408).

(206) Rooke’s frigates had arrived there 18th September. See note 180. They landed and took possession of “the Great Island,” on the 20th (S. P. D., p. 272).

(207) No doubt this means 1 Cor. i. 4, a verse from the Epistle for the 18th Sunday after Trinity.

(208) The words ‘y<sup>e</sup> rate’ are added above the line. This sentence is expanded in S. P. I., chap. III., § 11, p. 140; from which we learn that Alderman Edmund Reilly was the deputy-mayor, and that his order regulating prices of goods sold in Dublin was issued 27th September, 1689. See also A. R., pp. 618–622, where the order is given at full length.

(209) Compare S. P. I., chap. III., § 11, p. 140.

(210) There were three captains of this name in King James’s Army (D’Alton, p. 327). Any one of these may be the person here mentioned.

(211) On 23rd September the Jacobite Army burnt the forage between the two camps (Story, p. 24).

were turned out of y<sup>e</sup> house, y<sup>t</sup> severall persons were disturbed for concealing some of his goods y<sup>t</sup> mony belonging to severall persons were (*sic*) taken with him y<sup>t</sup> his two old aunts were in danger of—[68]—starving y<sup>r</sup>e money being seized amongst y<sup>e</sup> rest.<sup>212</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Short was ill & I spoke to Dardis about him. D<sup>r</sup> Mercer was buried.<sup>213</sup>

*October 1.*—M<sup>r</sup> Ormsby, upon his petition to Coll: Lutterel,<sup>214</sup> procured an order, to visite his wife and waite on My Lord Chief B. about some business. We heard from y<sup>e</sup> camp y<sup>t</sup> the K: had thoughts of returning. Y<sup>t</sup> 24 troops of Enniskilling horse and 8 troops of Dragoons with 3,000 foot had joined Schomberg. We hear y<sup>t</sup> about 600 men, horse and foot, from Sligo, commanded by Lloyd and Gore<sup>215</sup> had surprised 4 regiments at Boyle and driven the country y<sup>t</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Albert Cuninghame had y<sup>e</sup> Government of y<sup>e</sup> county and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> R. C. come under his protection & were in perfite peace, plowing and sowing y<sup>e</sup> lands; but we could not believe such storys.<sup>216</sup> Twas s<sup>d</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Fitz-Maurice had p<sup>d</sup> his fees and gotten out. We heard y<sup>t</sup> severall frenchmen made it y<sup>r</sup> business to go from house to house and pull Ldys out of y<sup>r</sup> beds.

*October 2.*—I heard y<sup>t</sup> one of my parishioners had broken his neck out of a window, being distracted by a—[69]—feavour, as suposed. But I heard likewise y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> crowners inquest had found him felo de se—some s<sup>d</sup> to get his goods, being left by his son-in-law M<sup>r</sup> Topless in his house.

M<sup>r</sup> Ormsby went out in the morning with 2 soldiers for keepers, he returned at night. I heard y<sup>t</sup> Friday, Saturday and Sunday last, the corn between Dundalk and Drogheda, was burnt<sup>217</sup>; y<sup>t</sup> Murray was landed with some men, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King was about to decamp, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> business

(212) Compare 23rd September.

(213) Probably George Mercer, m.d., father of Mary Mercer, the foundress of Mercer's Hospital and Mercer's School, in Dublin. He was a Scholar (1664) and Fellow (1670) of Trinity College. When Vice-Provost he was removed by Archbishop Francis Marsh for being married, in 1687 (*Catalogue of Graduates; University Calendar* for 1901, vol. ii., p. 433).

(214) Simon Luttrell, Governor of Dublin.

(215) Thomas Lloyd, the "little Cromwell," was the leader of the Enniskilleners in many conflicts, though not himself an Enniskillen man. When the force was organised by Kirk he was made a Lieutenant-Colonel of Foot. On his exploits, see Hamilton *passim*, *Lough Erne*, p. 28; Dalton's *English Army List*, vol. iii., p. 121. He seems to have died before 1st March, 1690 (S. P. D., p. 489). For Francis Gore, who was Lieut.-Col. of Tiffin's Regiment of Enniskilleners, see Dalton, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 122.

(216) Compare above under 26th September. Story (p. 25) gives an exaggerated and otherwise inaccurate account of this victory, the news of which, he says, reached Dundalk on 27th September. There is a more trustworthy reference to it in S. P. D., p. 277; but the primary authority is Lloyd's despatch, from which the account in the Introduction (p. 135) is taken. Lloyd makes no mention of Gore or the Burkes taking part in the battle, nor of Sir Albert Cunningham being made Governor. King might well be sceptical about the truth of a report that the Roman Catholics were "sowing the lands" in September!

(217) Compare above, note 211. This second burning is not mentioned by Story.

of Boyle was tru. Y<sup>e</sup> Guards were crosse to us. some furniture was brought back to y<sup>e</sup> Castle. We heard Cp<sup>t</sup> Nicolas had his doors broken open by y<sup>e</sup> patrol.<sup>218</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> people in Wexford had 10 days allowed y<sup>m</sup> to sow y<sup>re</sup> seed & y<sup>n</sup> y<sup>e</sup> protestants were comanded to surrender y<sup>m</sup>selves to Jail. Lord Clare<sup>219</sup> went to Munster on Sunday, tho' a rainy day.

October 3.—Mr Spike<sup>220</sup> came up and shewed me 2 letters from y<sup>e</sup> camp, intimating y<sup>t</sup> the King woud not return so soon as was expected. Some Regiments marched to y<sup>e</sup> county of Longford to reduce, as supposed S<sup>r</sup> Th: Newcomen's party.<sup>221</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> bridge of Lanesborough was said to be broken. M<sup>rs</sup> Ormsby, about a week ago, when her child was sick and coud not suck—[\*]—lest she shoud lose her milk, had taken a poor woman's child named \_\_\_\_\_ to suck her brest for a night, she returned the child in y<sup>e</sup> morning with a coat and shilling. This day, y<sup>e</sup> woman was sent with a guard by Cap<sup>t</sup> Reilly (a militia Cap<sup>t</sup> of new row,<sup>222</sup> who had bin I hear a porter) to seize M<sup>rs</sup> Ormsby (*sic*) for murthering y<sup>e</sup> woman's child, and to bring her before y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> woman had told her y<sup>t</sup> she woud prove this, if she woud not give her mony & it seems had don it and also y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Ormsby had offered her 40<sup>s</sup> to conceal it. M<sup>rs</sup> O. who had lain in about a fortnight ago, got out of the way, & Cap<sup>t</sup> Holcroft satisfied y<sup>e</sup> guard; after search y<sup>e</sup> child was found at \_\_\_\_\_. There was a order proclaimed by beat of Drum, y<sup>t</sup> every housekeeper shoud bring in an account of what officers lodged in y<sup>re</sup> house, they came accordingly in the afternoon to give y<sup>re</sup> account, but y<sup>re</sup> was no body appointed to receive it.

Oct. y<sup>e</sup> 4.—M<sup>r</sup> Short and M<sup>r</sup> Welsh were caryed to y<sup>e</sup> commissioners and brought back again. We heard from severall hands y<sup>t</sup> forces were landed in Munster, but nothing certain an express came in very early. It was said y<sup>t</sup> the King's camp was much distressed for—[71]—drink & was very sickly. M<sup>r</sup> Bardel(?)<sup>223</sup> came up & told us Captain M<sup>c</sup>Gragh

(218) Perhaps Captain John Nicholas, of Lazy Hill, a prominent parishioner of St. Andrew's (*Worthies*, pp. 27, 28; A.R., pp. 246, 279). His signature appears in the Vestry Book of the parish as late as 25th March, 1695.

(219) Daniel O'Bryan, Lord Clare, a member of the Privy Council, and Colonel of a Dragoon Regiment. He fought at the Boyne and died shortly afterwards. (D'Alton, p. 315.)

(220) A story is told in S.P.I., chap. III., § 13, p. 167, about a Mr. William Spike, a Protestant, who held "a small employment" "in the Castle." We are told more definitely in *Full and True Account*, p. 3, that he "had the keeping of the Keys of that Place," while a contemporary pamphlet entitled *An Account of the present State Ireland is in, under King James: And the deplorable Condition of the Protestants* ("Licensed, Feb. 21, 1690"), describes him as "an English Man" who was "Surveyor of the King's Buildings." See also S. P. I., Appendix 35, p. 401 (*recte* 419).

(221) Story (p. 28) mentions a report that the Duke of Berwick was sent about this time towards Enniskillen "with a considerable body of horse," "to rescue Major-General Maccarty," probably the same expedition as that mentioned in the text.

(222) New Row was just outside the walls to the west, running from New Gate to Ormond Gate.

(223) The name may perhaps be Burdet.



who lodged in M<sup>r</sup> Turner's house was cashiered for being civil to y<sup>e</sup> protestants in prison, in the new hospitall.<sup>224</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Foy came up, and told me y<sup>t</sup> the town was very miserable, by sickness, want of fire and great poverty; y<sup>t</sup> the Lord Mayor<sup>225</sup> had instead of making turf cheap by setting a rate on it, quit hindered y<sup>e</sup> coming of it to town, y<sup>e</sup> country people having resolved not to sell it, at y<sup>e</sup> rate prescribed. Coll: Warren, did not get his room as promised. Y<sup>e</sup> munster mail brought no letters from Kinsale, Cork, or the towns y<sup>re</sup> about, so we were told.

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(224) The Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, built in 1684. It was still called the 'New Hospital' some years after the date of the Diary. (R. A., vol. vi., p. 19; cf. S. P. D., p. 95).

(225) Terence Dermott, or MacDermott (A. R., p. lii).

*(To be continued.)*

OCCUPATION OF CONNAUGHT BY THE ANGLO-NORMANS.  
AFTER A.D. 1237.

BY H. T. KNOX, M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

(Continued from page 189.)

PART V.

THE KING'S CANTREDS.

THE King of England seems to have had no land in Connaught, except perhaps a small tract near Athlone, until after the attack which Cathal Crovderg made on the English of Athlone in 1199. It is not certain that the Athlone of that time extended west of the Shannon. The king then took up so much as enabled him to make grants.

In 1200 Geoffrey de Costentin was given in fee the cantred of Tirierachbothe by the service of five knights.<sup>1</sup> It was the country about the parish of Drum, and took this name Tir Fhiachrach bhfeadha from the O'Naghtens, the Ui Fiachrach Finn, formerly of Moenmoy, but now of the Feadha, The Woods, a name of the country near Athlone.

Richard Tirel got Dungalue,<sup>2</sup> which looks most like Dungaillve, Galway, but I think must be Gaille, Galley, on Lough Ree. No more is known of Tirels in these parts except that Gerald Tirel was sheriff from 1303 to 1306.

To this period is referred the grant of the "vill of Adlon, the mills and one carucate of land near that vill," which the king had in his hand, in 1225, for which he ordered 15 librates of land to be given to Richard de Twit.<sup>3</sup> In 1234 Richard was given an annuity of £15 until provided with other lands.<sup>4</sup>

By a settlement made with Cathal Crovderg in 1204 the king was to have two cantreds of land in Connaught. A fresh set of grants now appears.

In 1207 King John pardoned Gilbert de Angulo and his brother Philip. The former, as I have already noted, had a grant in fee of "a cantred of land in Estyre, Wintelmolman, Ul'unan and Nyaki," by the service of four knights.<sup>5</sup> Of these names, Muintir Mailfhinnain and O'Loman are about Finnure, in Abbeygormican parish. I cannot make out Estyre and Nyaki. Estyre seems to represent some name such as Aes Tire,

<sup>1</sup> D. I. i., 137. For explanation of references, see p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> D. I. i., 1261.

<sup>4</sup> D. I. i., 2173, 2176.

<sup>2</sup> D. I. i., 153.

<sup>5</sup> D. I. i., 354.

People of Land——. This fee was afterwards in the de Burgo part of Connaught, but not held under the general grant (Inq. A). Richard de Burgo appears therefore to have taken it over separately from de Angulo.

In the same year John Marshall had a grant in fee “of the cantred in which the vill of Kilmie is situated” for the service of five knights.<sup>1</sup> It is afterwards called Kilman, and is Kilmeane, near Roscommon. To this period should be assigned the grant to Philip de Angulo of the cantred of Roscommon.

In 1210 the Castle of Athlone was built, and new arrangements were made to provide a demesne for it. In 1213 the king ordered Geoffrey de Costentin to be given land in exchange for what he had near Athlone. In 1215 he was given the cantred of Trituatha for the service of four knights. In 1229 it was ordered that this cantred be taken up, and that thirty knights’ fees outside the twenty knights’ fees next the Castle of Athlone be given to him instead.<sup>2</sup> These fees may have been given in Maghfinn, the parish of Taghmaconnell, which does not appear in the records, though it was in the middle of the king’s lands.

In 1215 new arrangements were made with Cathal Croiderg. They account for taking up Trituatha, and for the grant of annuities of twenty-five marks and of ten marks to John Marshall and Philip de Angulo, until the king give them lands instead of the cantreds of Kilman and Roscommon, in possession of the King of Connaught.<sup>3</sup>

These facts show that the king’s two cantreds were Tirmany and Omany, and that the king left the northern part in Cathal’s hands, dealing himself only with the Woods and Omany, which seem to have been treated as a cantred, and as to that only with the part close to Athlone. Thus things remained for many years, so far as occupation by the English is concerned, the rest of the king’s cantreds always being in actual possession of the Irish.

From 1252 the king had effective direct possession of all Omany. Sir Richard de la Rochelle’s grant has been mentioned before, but without details. In that year Oliver de Aspreville had a grant, for the service of one knight, of the vills of Glinehelchy, Deredeglatha, Haghdram, Hakedriny, and Clankinhyniscan. These he sold to Sir Richard, who himself had a grant on the 5th July, 1253, of 20 librates of land next to Oliver de Aspreville’s lands, to hold in fee for the service of one-half a knight’s fee, and on the same day licence to erect a gallows, etc., and to have assizes, etc., and free warren in his demesne lands in Haghderrinn’ and Clonkin, in Huneselan, Glinehelchi, and Dereglatha, which are the Aspreville lands, with varied spelling. On the following day he got a confirmation of the grant in fee, in which they are called four vills, namely, Clinehelchi, Deredeglatha, Hakedriny, and Clonkin, Hineselan. But Haghdram is omitted. It may be included in another denomination.

<sup>1</sup> D. I. i., 353.

<sup>2</sup> D. I. i., 508, 590, 1719.

<sup>3</sup> D. I. i., 537, 909, 630, 1989.



It is Aughrim, which was part of the Rochelle estate. The other places I cannot make out.<sup>1</sup> There is no description of the 20 librates. In 1270 Sir Richard gave a manor in England to John of Arderne in exchange for land "in the fee of Crohone, in the cantred of Tirmany, Connaught, of the gift of Edward, the K.'s eldest son."<sup>2</sup> This is the only reference to John of Arderne's grant. Crohone was a denomination of land in Killian barony,<sup>3</sup> and seems to be a form of Cremhthann, Cruffon. Sir Richard died soon after this, and was succeeded by his son Philip, a minor. Philip's petition in 1282 gives interesting information regarding the management of such estates by absentee owners, and by the king during wardship.<sup>4</sup> It recites that Sir Richard was enfeoffed of the cantred of Omany by the service of seven knights, and a yearly rent of £125 for a portion of the land. It is evident that Sir Richard had acquired other grants; he had taken another direct grant of 25 villatae at £5 each. In 1267 there was a "confirmation of grants made by Edward, the king's son, to Richard de la Rochelle, of the cantred of Omany, and to Richard de Thoythe of that of Tyrmany, called Clonodath."<sup>5</sup> Clan Uadach is the tribe name and land of the O'Fallons in Cam and Dysert parishes. Sir Richard was a minister of Prince Edward, and appears to have speculated in land, making up a great estate to be developed hereafter, for it is said that he did not make the rent which was deducted from his salary.<sup>6</sup> The petition goes on to say that the escheator took possession after Sir Richard's death. "As it was all waste and no man inhabited it," the escheator pressed the Irish who had before held the land to come back and take it. They refused unless they had it for a term. He let it for a term. When Philip came of age, the escheator demanded the rent rendered by Sir Richard when it was in herbage and in good peace. Philip could in that year take no more than the escheator had assessed. Robert de Ufford came afterwards as justiciary, and demanded full rent. Philip said he could not raise the rent except by help of justice, which he prayed. The justiciary ordered bailiffs to distrain. The Irish heard of this, and made peace with him for a fine. Jordan de Exeter came and seized chattels worth £200 and more. Jordan de Exeter must have acted in this as sheriff.

It was ordered that Philip should have relief.

Philip sold the manors of Aththrym and Suthkyn to Theobald Butler before 1293. When Philip's widow claimed dower out of them, one-third was valued at £40 4s. 4½d.<sup>7</sup>

Edmund Butler applied for a reduction of rent in 1305.<sup>8</sup> The jurors reported that his father and brother could never levy the full rent of the 25 villatae which Sir R. de la Rochelle held at £5 per villata. The

<sup>1</sup> D. I. ii., 35, 223, 224, 226.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. C. 319.

<sup>5</sup> D. I. ii., 823.

<sup>7</sup> D. I. iv., 765, 766, 814; v., 198.

<sup>2</sup> D. I. ii., 878.

<sup>4</sup> D. I. ii., 198.

<sup>6</sup> D. I. v., 198.

<sup>8</sup> D. I. v., 198.

part of the Inquisition relating to value is mutilated, but it shows that they put a very low value owing to the difficulty of defence against the Irish. Edmund apparently got no relief then; but he got a remission for life of all rent and arrears on 22nd September, 1309.

Nothing indicates the situation of the 25 villatae, but it is at least probable that Lord Ormond's 24 qrs. of Toahbreny, in 1585, represent them.<sup>1</sup> The Butlers established a colony at Aughrim, and the place was burnt by Ui Maine in 1308 (L.C.). The entry is not very intelligible, but I understand it to mean that the O'Kellys burnt Aughrim, and took a number of prisoners at Ahascragh, and that they let them go, and gave Edmund Butler satisfaction for burning Aughrim.

The town was burnt again, and its castle thrown down, in 1315 (L.C.). Suthkyn and Suthyn is the Irish Suicin, which is at Ballinasloe. The parish of Sukyn in the Taxation of 1306 is that now called Creagh. This estate extended to the east of the Suck.

It was made up of—

1. The Aspreville grant about Aughrim, by service of 1 knight's fee.
2. 20 librates of land adjoining, by service of  $\frac{1}{2}$  knight's fee.
3. 25 villatae, at £5 each.
4. Other lands, how acquired does not appear, but they probably included the Arderne property in Crohone in Tirmany, by service of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  knight's fee.

The king took Tirmany also into his own hands after Aedh O'Conor's outbreak in 1249, for a short time only. He made a grant to Roger de Lokinton in 1253. I find no trace of any other grant. It is mentioned in 1253 that Felim held four cantreds at the king's pleasure. The calendar shows no further dealings with Tirmany until the castle of Roscommon was built. I infer, therefore, that it was restored to Felim at once,<sup>2</sup> the king retaining only his castles and their demesnes. Felim paid £300 yearly for the three cantreds he held in fee-farm.

In 1275 Teige O'Conor, who was king from 1274 to 1278, applied for a lease of Connaught.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Robert Ufford came again as justiciary in 1276. It appears from the Inquisition of 1305,<sup>4</sup> reporting upon Earl Richard's application for a grant or sale to him of Silmurray, that from the time of the death of Felim O'Conor until Robert d'Ufford came again as justiciary . . . nothing was taken from that land except from one cantred called Omany; and that "the said Robert, at his second arrival, demised to O'Conor two and a-half cantreds . . . to wit, the cantred of Moylurg Tirelele, and the cantred . . . of land which is called Clonmacganenan,<sup>5</sup> which belonged to Richard de Calne, and is now in the hands of the K. . . of

<sup>1</sup> H. W. C. 319.

<sup>4</sup> D. I. v., 437.

<sup>2</sup> D. I. ii., 237, 713.

<sup>5</sup> Trituatha.

<sup>3</sup> D. I. ii., 1135.

Richard, and the half-cantred of Moyhe, rendering yearly to the king 100 . . . ,” and that the two and a-half cantreds would be worth 100 marks in time of peace.

The arrangement by Sir Robert must have been with Aedh Muimhnech or his successor Cathal. The latter gave a bond for 1000 marks of silver to have his portion. This is recorded in 1285,<sup>1</sup> but may have been much earlier, as it is quoted from the Roll of Stephen, Bishop of Waterford, who succeeded Sir Robert at the close of 1281. Magnus O’Conor, who succeeded Cathal, paid £15 13s. 6d. of rent in 1292.<sup>2</sup> It does not appear what became of the other half-cantred of Moyhe. I think that there was no other half-cantred—that it is the same as “the cantred,” and that it was given by Stephen to the head of the clan of Cathal Crovderg when displaced in the sovereignty by Cathal of Clan Murtough Mweenagh, and that the three cantreds became one tenure again when Aedh, head of the former clan, gained the sovereignty in 1293.

The Inquisition speaks of two and a-half cantreds as then in question, which suggests, considering that Earl Richard desired to take up all the king’s land which was not in Tirmany and Omany, but in the hands of the Irish, that the cantred of Moy Ai was sometimes called the half-cantred, because about half of the ancient Moy Ai was in the de Burgo grant and in the north of Tirmany, near Roscommon. Moreover, there seems to be evidence that King Aedh held the “three cantreds of Felim” in 1299, and that Cathal held two cantreds.<sup>3</sup> There is no other reference to the grant to Richard de Calne, which seems to have been immediately surrendered to the king, and to have been one of those made during war, which were annulled by peace.

When Henry III. made his eldest son Lord of Ireland, a grant of land worth £500 a year to Godfrey de Lezignan was to be satisfied out of the king’s waste lands in Connaught. In 1254 Godfrey was given a grant in fee of four and a-half cantreds; but he said that the land was not worth so much, and refused it. In 1255, in order to settle the question between Godfrey and Edward, Godfrey agreed to an order made by the king that Edward should take the cantred in which the king’s castles are and the castles, *i.e.* Tirmany, and one other cantred; that there should be no question regarding the land which Felim O’Conor held on lease; that Godfrey should have the other two cantreds, be they worth more or less. This effected a settlement; for on the 9th December, 1255, Godfrey executed a deed-poll to this effect. Edward “having granted to him in fee the cantred of Tyrmany in Connaught (where the Oscalli dwell), Maillourg and Tyrelele, with a cantred, and the homage and services of Richard de la Rochelle, Jordan of Exeter, and others holding there, in place of 500 librates given to him by the K., his

<sup>1</sup> D. I. iii., 172.

<sup>2</sup> D. I. iii., 1148.

<sup>3</sup> O’Conor, “The O’Conors of Connaught,” p. 127, quoting Pipe Rolls, 1292–1299.



brother; Godfrey wills and grants that if he shall sell, mortgage, or exchange these lands, the Lord Edward [shall be entitled] to the said homage and services against all men." On 8th November, 1256, Edward cancelled this by giving Godfrey the manor of Louth and Castle Frank, in Ireland, for £140 a year, with £160 a year of land in England, and an annuity of £200, until he supplies 200 librates in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> These proceedings are instructive in showing what was considered to be the fair profit to be got by the lord of such lands.

There are notices of some other grants in Tirmany. John de Sandford, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, had a grant from Sir Richard Fitz John, who was Edward's seneschal from 1254, and the King's Justiciary from 1261, until Sir R. de Ufford came in 1268,<sup>2</sup> of 5 villatae, namely, Turlochogenath, Rathmolony, Corbally, Fiegkilbride, and Clony.<sup>3</sup> Fiegkilbride is part of Kilbride parish, also called Fidhmonach. He had also, before he became archbishop, the grant, already mentioned,<sup>4</sup> of Clanconway and some other lands, amounting to 20 vills in the theodum of Clanconway and 10 vills without it.<sup>5</sup> William Fitzwarin had been previously enfeoffed of one carucate therein, a portion most likely of 30 librates of land given him in 1270 by service of half a knight's fee.<sup>6</sup> Between 1280 and 1285 John Huse was given 10 librates of land and £20 to fortify it.<sup>7</sup>

John Mape had a grant of 100s. worth of lands; but in 1284 had been given only one and a-half carucate, leaving one carucate still due.<sup>8</sup> He was given 15 marks "to make the causeway of Tawyrfin in Connaught."<sup>9</sup> He was constable of Randown in 1275 and 1276, and Henry Fitz Leo was constable of Roscommon at same time.<sup>10</sup>

Moyvannan was let to William de Prene at 100s. a year; but he could not raise the money in consequence of the wars in a.r. 15, 16, 17.<sup>11</sup> It seems to have been surrendered by him. Afterwards Richard de Exeter had it. It lies near Kiltoom.

In 1299 Sir R. de Aston, an absentee, was allowed to enfeoff William le Irish of Kilték and Castelmetegan, and Peter Sprot of Ardlekyn and Tholyogenedy, for a fine of £5 in each case. These men are described as residents.<sup>12</sup> Kilték and Castelmetegan are Coolteige and Cashelmeehan Townlands in Kilbride parish. Ardlekyn is Ardlagheen in Cloonygormican. Tholyogenedy might be Tully in Kilbride. Sir Richard FitzJohn himself held as tenant-at-will, until grants in fee were made, Moyvannan, Seranan, Behach, and Carnach, and several other townlands.<sup>13</sup> Carnach is now Carnagh, a large tract to north of Moyvannan. I do not identify Seranan and Behach.

<sup>1</sup> D. I. ii., 321, 365, 447, 448, 478, 524.

<sup>2</sup> D. I. ii., 358, 715.

<sup>3</sup> "Liber Niger Alani," No. 602, in *Journal*, vol. xxvii., p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal*, vol. xxxi., p. 370.

<sup>5</sup> D. I. ii., 2115.

<sup>6</sup> D. I. iv., 108, 1293.

<sup>7</sup> D. I. iii., 79.

<sup>8</sup> D. I. ii., 2364.

<sup>9</sup> D. I. ii., 1890.

<sup>10</sup> D. I. ii., 237, 337.

<sup>11</sup> D. I. iii., 528.

<sup>12</sup> D. I. iv., 604, 655, 691.

<sup>13</sup> D. I. ii., 1613.

The Richard de Exeter estate, of which but a part was in Galway, has been mentioned. The detailed history is of some interest.

Sir Richard the elder was a Government servant of high rank and importance; was the justiciary's lieutenant when Robert de Ufford left in 1270, and then spent £90 in fortifying Roscommon Castle; Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1273; constable of the Castles of Roscommon and Randown in 1282, 3, 4; and was killed in battle in Thomond in 1287.<sup>1</sup> Though so considerable a person, very little more is known about him, and that little is in the *Annals of Multifarnham*, which really belong to the Dominican House of Strade or Athlethan, and cease abruptly after 1274, the year of the foundation of the House of Rathfran. They particularly record events connected with Sir Richard's family, and are supposed to have been written by brother Stephen de Exeter. The death of John is noted in 1260. Him I suspect to have been Sir Richard's father, for Lord Richard then comes into view. The death of his first and his second wife, and his marriage to Lady Ysemain, daughter of Lord David de Prendergast, and the birth of their son John in 1270, are noted. His son Richard, who succeeded him, was an elder son.<sup>2</sup>

I take him to be a relation of the de Exeter lords of Athlethan. His line decayed in the fourteenth century, and dropped out of sight. The *Annals of Multifarnham* ignore the Clan Jordan. The *Irish Annals*, except those of Innisfallen, which record Sir Richard's death in 1287, ignore this branch of the family.

Sir Richard is likely to have been the founder of Rathfran Monastery, regarding which various traditions have been recorded, and which is with most probability assigned to a de Exeter. A lord of Athlethan is not likely to have founded it. Sir Richard had become eminent at that time, and was in a position to take up land there. Mac Firbis gives a pedigree, quoted in Ordnance Survey Letters, of de Exeter of Rathfran up to Sir Richard. Though it is certainly inaccurate in some respects, it is quite likely that descendants of Sir Richard continued there in obscurity.<sup>3</sup> Mac Firbis and O'Clery are certainly in error in their de Exeter pedigrees in the thirteenth century. Sir Richard did not come with Strongbow, and was not father of Jordan Mor and Jordan Og, ancestors of Clan Jordan of Gallen. But another Richard may have been father of Sir Richard, or of his father John, and of Jordan of Gallen, and have been a companion of Maurice FitzGerald at the conquest of Connaught. The Irish historians were not accurately acquainted with the Anglo-Norman families until the fourteenth century.

To the period of the building of Rosecommon Castle I refer Sir Richard's acquisition of the de Lokinton grant of 1253, 10 librates of land in Tirmany, called Slef and Muinassan, named in full in other references as

<sup>1</sup> D. I. ii., p. 151, Nos. 947, 1907, 2034, 2310.

<sup>2</sup> Irish Archaeological Society's Tracts, vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> A de Exeter was there in 1585 (15 D.K. 4731, "Tho. Dekrytor of Raureany").

Slefschenechoch and Monecassan. Slef appears in the sixteenth century as "the Slewe."<sup>1</sup> It is the Slieveshancough which gave a name to Abbey Grey, in the parish of Athleague, and seems to be the same as the tract called Slievemurry, in early times Sliabh Furri, in the parish of Killeroran, a name once evidently covering a very large area, and known shortly as "the Mountain." Monecassan is the name Muinecasain, in the parish of Ballymacward;<sup>2</sup> but considering the distance between the localities, it is, I think, unsafe to take identity of name as marking the place. It is more likely to be a place nearer Slievemurry. Casan enters into several townland names not very far off.

The castle of Athleague was broken down in 1271.<sup>3</sup> It must be taken to have been built about the same time as Roscommon Castle, not earlier. A period of warfare ensued, until Sir Robert de Ufford restored Roscommon Castle, when Athleague Castle seems to have been restored.

Robert de Ufford gave Sir Richard 20 librates of land in Connaught to hold in fee-farm by the service of half a knight's fee. The king confirmed the grant in June, 1280, remitted rent due and for a year in advance.<sup>4</sup> These lands were 8 villatae, which appear in 4 lists, with variations of spelling, out of which I adopt the following forms :—

VILLATAE.	IDENTIFIED WITH		
Tobyrnechalpye, .. ..	—		
Rathfaret, .. ..	..	..	Rahara, townland in Rahara Parish.
Lystefchy, .. ..	..	..	Liscoffy, townland in Athleague Parish.
Conyllesty, .. ..	..	..	Coullusty, ,, ,, ,,
Naracheyn, .. ..	..	..	Araghty (?), ,, ,, ,,
Corkylbraugyle, .. ..	..	..	Cartronkilly, townland in Dysart Parish.
Corecreppan, .. ..	—		
Dengynmacossan, .. ..	..	..	Knockadangan, townland in Athleague.
(D. I. iv., 806.)			

At about the same time he had a grant of 30 librates in fee-farm, for which the following, called seven townlands, were assigned :—

VILLATAE.	IDENTIFIED WITH		
Kylcoyssch, $\frac{1}{2}$ villata,	..	Kilcash, townland in Kilmeane Parish.	
Stregacherynyn, $\frac{1}{2}$ villata,	..	Scregg, townland in Killinvoy Parish.	
Behach,	.. ..	These were in Richard Fitz John's holding, and seem to have been in this neighbour- hood.	
Srenan,	.. ..		
Ardmolan,	.. ..	Ardmullen, townland in Cam Parish.	
Drumcloghry,	.. ..	—	
Lysmorechethan and Cownach,		Richard Fitz John's holding.	
Unchinagh and Dothulaghelyn	{	Funchinagh townland, in Tisrara Parish.	
		Funchinagh Lake, in Cam Parish.	
		Duthaidh Lochlainn in Irish (?).	

<sup>1</sup> H. W. C. 319.

<sup>3</sup> L. C., Clonmacnoise, Multifarnham.

<sup>2</sup> H. M. 72.

<sup>4</sup> D. I. ii., 1704.



These contain 15 carucates of arable land and meadow, valued at 40s. a carucate, the value of waste lands of Tirmany in the king's hands.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Richard left the constableness in 1284. A period of warfare followed, in which his castle of Athleague was levelled, and his lands were worth nothing, nor were those of the king, until 1299.<sup>2</sup>

After Christmas, 1289, his son Richard petitioned the king in Parliament to retake the seven townlands, because they were too heavily rented; but failed to secure a reduction of rent, and surrendered them.<sup>3</sup>

In 1301, things being more settled in Connaught, John Fitz Thomas having been expelled for five years, Richard desired to take the land up again, and was given the seven townlands, together with those of Moyvannan and Torpan, to hold in fee-farm for ever, at £18 a year.<sup>4</sup> Torpan and Moyvannan are still townlands in Taghboy and Kiltoom parishes. Regarding identification, it is to be noted that these old townlands, or villatae, were very large denominations, and that the modern townland of the name is usually but a fragment to which the name has adhered, or is the place which gave a name to the estate. Skregtreynyn and Screg appear as well as Streg. Corkyle Braugyle I. take to represent Corcaille, or Round Wood, of Bruigeol, now Briole, in Dysert parish, of which the Caille perhaps remains in Cartronkilly. Knockadangan is the only townland in the neighbourhood which gives Dangan.

A sufficient number of places are identified to show that Sir Richard, the elder and younger, acquired a very large estate between Slievemurphy and Loughree.

Sir Richard, junior, became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1302, and was Keeper of the Castles of Roscommon and Randown in 1303 and 1304.<sup>5</sup> In 1304 he contracted to repair Roscommon Castle for £19 4s. 8d.

Money was coined at Roscommon before 1285.<sup>6</sup> The county of Connaught was divided into the counties of Roscommon and Connaught in or before 1292; Richard is described as Sheriff of Rosecommon early in that year. He was Sheriff again in 1301.<sup>7</sup>

The county of Roscommon seems to have comprised only the king's Five Cantreds.

The king's power grew steadily, on the whole, through the reign of Edward I., and declined with the accession of Edward II. Bruce's invasion affected Connaught only by causing the one general rising of the Irish, who were thoroughly beaten down at Athenry in 1316. Sir William de Burgo followed up the victory by entering Moy Ai, whereupon the O'Conors submitted. Mac Dermot did not, and his territory

<sup>1</sup> D. I. iv., 802.

<sup>2</sup> D. I. iv., 806.

<sup>3</sup> D. I. iii., 558.

<sup>4</sup> D. I. iv., 802, 806; v., 208, 209, 316, 317.

<sup>5</sup> D. I. v., 139, 281.

<sup>6</sup> D. I. iii., 7.

<sup>7</sup> D. I. iii., 520; iv., 367.

was plundered. This fight seems to have been between the English of Connaught on one side, and on the other the Irish of Connaught, reinforced by the King of Thomond and some O'Briens, and by some men of Meath and Brefne. In 1317, Roger Mortimer, with the assent of the Council, let to O'Conor all the land in the king's cantreds which was not already let to Englishmen, or on burgage tenure.<sup>1</sup> The de Burgo power had been much enhanced in respect of the Irish, and it was thus enhanced also in respect of the royal power, which now practically withdrew from Connaught, except so far as the king could rely on the Earl of Ulster. This, perhaps, was a reason for withdrawal. The King of Connaught was now of small importance compared with Sir William de Burgo, and his son Walter, who was suspected by the Irish of a design to proclaim himself King of Connaught.<sup>2</sup> The fact is improbable, but the record of the suspicion shows that he was considered by the Irish to be in a position to attempt it.

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#### NOTES ADDED IN THE PRESS.

1. *Clantayg* (vol. xxxii., p. 399).—Clantayg included Athenry.<sup>3</sup>

2. *Kilmorenetogher* and *Kilbrenan* (vol. xxxii., p. 401).—Kilbrenan was a house of mendicant friars in the parish of Clonbern, whose parish church is called Kilbrenan. The friary church is Kilmurry, by which name the friary also appears.<sup>4</sup>

Kilmorenetogher may be a name of this small friary, but is more likely to be Abbey Grey, *alias* Sleushancough, in parish of Killeroran, which is close to Kilmore townland. I am told that a togher is close by.

3. *Settlement between the Earl and John Fitz Thomas*.—The following seems to explain and agree with all the facts:—"A. 1298. The two Earls of Ulster and of Kildare became reconciled by the Earl of Kildare awarding 3000 marks to the Earl of Ulster, and for a thousand marks to give him the lordship of Sligo, and all his plate for another thousand, and his son Thomas to get married to his daughter for the third thousand" (Mac Firbis, "Great Book of Genealogies," Clann William Burc).

4. *William of Owyll* was a son of Sir William Liath according to Mac Firbis's account of Clann William Burc, and the Registry of Athenry Dominican Friary. For reasons too long for this note, I believe him to be Ulick, son of Richard, son of William Liath, who died

<sup>1</sup> Pat. 11 Edw. II., No. 103, in Rot. Pat. et Claus. Cancell. Hib. Calendarium.

<sup>2</sup> L. C. 1330.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. C. 196.

<sup>4</sup> 12 D. K. 2374; 16 D. K. 5306; Valor Beneficiorum, 1585.

in 1343 L. C., who is usually taken to be Ulick of Annaghkeen, whose death, in 1353, is recorded in that Registry, whom I take to be Sir William's son.

5. *McKaageboy* or *McCawoke*.—M'Firbis's "Genealogy of Clangibbon" shows the name to have been Mac Daibhog Buidhe, descended from Daibhog Buidhe, son of Gibbon, from whom came Clangibbon.

6. *Transfer of Estates by Absentees*.—In the seventeenth century claims to certain lands in the barony of Carra were supported by deeds of Clan Mac Evillies, "and by virtue of an auneyent Deed of the Stauntons, bearing date 20th May, in the Raigne of King Edward the Third—the whole Lordship and Barony of Carra."<sup>1</sup> Walter de Cogan's lands in Connaught were held by Walter de Birmingham, of Athenry, at close of fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

According to "Historia et Genealogia Familiæ de Burgo," MS. No. 1440, T. C. D., Mac William was entitled to rent and services from Mac Jordan, Mac Costello, and O'Connor Roe, but, from their form, I think these claims did not arise from the ancient tenures of those lords.

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The following abbreviations are used in references:—

- H. F. = O'Donovan, "Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach."
- H. M. =        ,,        " Tribes and Customs of Hy Many."
- H. W. C. = Hardiman's edition of O'Flaherty's "West Connaught."
- D. I. = Sweetman, "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland," 1172–1307.
- D. K. = "Annual Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Ireland," Calendar of Fiants.
- R. B. = "Red Book of Earl of Kildare," in Hist. MSS. Commission, 9th Report, Appendix.
- L. C. = "Annals of Loch Cé" (Rolls Series).
- F. M. =        ,,        the Four Masters" (O'Donovan's edition).
- O. S. L. = Ordnance Survey Letters.

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<sup>1</sup> Rolls Office, Inq. Mayo, 11th January, 1610, in Public Record Office, Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Pat. et Claus. Cancell. Hib. Calendarium; Pat. 10 Ric. II., No. 34.



## Miscellanea.

**Silver Presentation Cup recording Cambrian Hospitality.**—I desire to call attention to the following short account of a remarkable silver cup, presented to Dudley Ackland, Esq., of Boulston, Haverford West, Pembrokeshire. The cup was presented by four gentlemen, whose wives and children found refuge in Mr. Ackland's house, when they fled from Ireland in 1798. Unfortunately the cup cannot now be discovered, a matter much to be regretted, as it was an article of historical value.

Round the cover are the words :—

“SACRED TO CAMBRIAN HOSPITALITY.”

And on a medallion, on one side, was the following :—

“TO DUDLEY ACKLAND ESQ: OF BOULSTON, FOR THE ASYLUM AFFORDED  
TO THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN FROM THE HORRORS OF REBELLION.  
JUNE 1798. FROM ÷ SIR JOHN NEWPORT, BART: SAMUEL BOYSE.  
ROBERT S. CAREW. WILLIAM MORRIS, ESQUIRES, OF THE CITY OF WATER-  
FORD.”

A letter which I have received from Arthur Boyse, Esq., of Bannow, Wexford, gives some information about the gentlemen who presented the cup :—

“Sir John Newport, Bart., lived at Newpark (now occupied by Mr. Bloomfield), just outside the town of Waterford.

“Samuel Boyse was my great-great-grandfather. He lived at Bishop's Hall, County Kilkenny (now a ruin), and also at Bannow. He bought in some of the estates from a cousin, Frances Carr, to whom they had descended through a female line.

William Morris, of Waterford, lived where the present Adelphi Hotel is.

“These three all married sisters of the Robert Shapland Carew (of Castleborough) whose name is also mentioned on the cup. He (R. S. Carew) was father of the first Lord Carew of Castleborough, County Wexford. The names of the first two are on the wooden bridge at Waterford.”

I may add that Sir John Newport, Bart., was the son of a Waterford banker, in which city he was born on October 24, 1756. He was created a baronet in 1789. In 1802 he entered the Imperial Parliament as member for Waterford, and continued to represent it until 1832. After the passage of the Reform Bill, he was appointed Comptroller of the Exchequer, from which office he retired in 1839, with a pension of £1000 per annum. He died at Newpark, near Waterford, on February 9, 1843, aged 87 years.—COURTENAY MOORE (*Canon*), M.A., R.D., *Hon. Provincial Secretary for Munster.*

**Kiltevenan, County Roscommon** (*Journal*, vol. xxxii., pp. 194, 408 ; vol. xxxiii., p. 190).—I think I can satisfactorily settle the question as to the *locale* of Kiltevenan, regarding which the Rev. W. D. Macray—the oldest member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland—has made some queries.

“Kiltevenan” is in County Tipperary, and is variously written “Kilteynan” and “Kiltinan.” Mr. H. T. Knox is right as to its being “in the neighbourhood of Fethard.” From the Patent Rolls (17 John) it appears that on July 6, 1215, King John granted to Philip of Worcester, during pleasure, various lands in County Tipperary, including the castles of Knockgraffon, *Kiltennan*, and Ardmayle. The manor and castle of Kiltennan reverted to King Henry III. in 1218, who, on March 11, 1223, committed them to Nicholas Fitz Leo; but, a few months later, on July 18, 1223, they were given to William of Worcester, nephew to Philip, the original grantee. The first deed, quoted by Mr. Macray as “*circa* 1190–1200,” must be dated as *circa* 1210, and the acquisition of Kiltinan Church, with appurtenances, by the Abbot and Canons of Oseney, must have been in 1218. As Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, was superseded in his office of Papal Legate in 1218, the second deed may fairly be given as of that year. In 1233 letters of protection were granted by the king, for the Abbot of Oseney, in Ireland.

In 1234, and again in 1238, William of Worcester was summoned to show what title he had to the manors of Knockgraffon and *Kiltennanach*. Apparently he succeeded, as on June 4, 1244, his son, Ralph of Worcester, was confirmed in said lands. The property was then acquired by the de Burgos.

In 1302, the church of Kiltinan (written “Kiltennenan”), in the *Deanery of Fethard, Diocese of Cashel*, was valued at ten marks, the tenth being 13s. 4d.; and, in 1316, it was confirmed to the Abbot and convent of Oseney.

On November 9, 1328, as appears from the printed Calendar of Patent Rolls, James Butler, Earl of Ormonde, was given the regality and other liberties in the County of Tipperary. This James Butler, first Earl of Ormonde, married Eleanor de Bohun, kinswoman of King Edward III.

In quoting the Computus of the Bailiff of Kiltinan for the year 1331, wherein it is mentioned that “the Countess” extorted £14, Mr. Macray asks, “Who was the Countess?” The answer is: The Countess of Ulster, as Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, died July 29, 1326.

On April 9, 1542, a return was made by William Brabazon in regard to the revenues of the lands and premises held by the Abbey of Oseney, in Ireland; and, in 1545, these lands were leased to James Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory. The Fiants of Henry VIII. give

the name as "Kylteyham," but it is described as "parcel of the possessions of the late Abbey of Oseney, in England."

The Palatinate jurisdiction of County Tipperary by the Earls of Ormonde continued until seized by the Crown, by process of *Quo Warranto* in 1621. However, it was restored in 1662 (April 22, 1662)—confirmed by the Statute 14 Charles II.—and finally devolved to the Crown in 1715, by the attainder of James, Duke of Ormonde.—  
WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

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**Temple-na-Caille and the Churches near Kilkeedy, County Limerick.**—Mr. Grene Barry collects a very valuable mass of notes on the "Keeley" settlement near the mouth of the Maigue, and speculates whether Kiltemplan may be the Tempulkillie or Keilnacailly of the earlier records ("Journal," *supra*, p. 198). May I supplement his notes with an extract from the Civil Survey of Pubblebrian (1655), preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin?

This book (p. 19) gives, under the heading of Kilkeedy parish, "Killnakallye, one quarter & a halfe with one tach [? thatched] house thereunto belonginge. Mearinge weast to Craigbegg, south to Broskagh, east to Cnockrounge, north to Doone. Daniell M<sup>c</sup>Mahonie of Keillnakally, Irish papist [owner]. Shrubby wood, 4 ac. Arable, 18 ac. Meddow, 3 ac. Pasture, 3 ac.—Total, 28 ac." The other places beginning with "Kill," in the same Survey, are—"Kilcolman (p. 16), mearing with Kiltemplan & Cloonana, held by Margaret ny Bryne, *alias* Stephenson: Kilboy & Gortskraghone (p. 21), held in 1640 by same, & the Lady Dowager of Castleconnell, under lease, having 'the ford of Clare = inis on the northe.'"

As Killnakallye is treated as a separate townland from Kiltemplan, we must look elsewhere for its history. It is evident that the "Killna-challichi" given after "Killmacgoban" (Kilgobbin) in Meyler Fitz Henry's Inquisition, 1200, and given as near Claireen Bridge in 1410, the "Killygelly" of the "Taxatio Procuracionum" (1418, 1422), is the unknown church site to the east of Cragbeg, called Killnakallye in the Civil Survey. Thus within the bounds of the united parishes of Kilkeedy and Escluen we find St. Margaret's, at Newtown; Kilkeedy, Killeen, with a well, dedicated to St. James, in Newtown; Kiltemplan, Kilcolman, Killnakallye, Kilboy, and Kilcornan (or Kilcoran), "kyle," in Ballyanrihan, near Patrick's Well.—T. J. WESTROPP.

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**Escloon.**—Mr. T. J. Westropp, in his account of Esclon, does not give any mention of "the Manor after 1243." In the Close Rolls, 18 Edw. I., there is mention of the Manor of Esclon, on June 13th, 1290, and it then belonged to Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, whose tenant was John Serle of Esclon.—W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.



**Inscription on Monument of Lord Wyndham of Finglass, in Salisbury Cathedral.**—The accompanying inscription, copied by Mrs. Long, Dublin, is an addition to the epitaphs of persons connected with Ireland, buried in England, already published in the *Journal*.—P. D. VIGORS (*Col.*):—

*Large Monument in Salisbury Cathedral. Figure leaning on a harp, large urn and coat of arms.*—Here lyeth the body of Thomas Lord Wyndham Baron Wyndham of Finglass in the Kingdom of Ireland, youngest son of John Wyndham of Norrington in this County, Esq<sup>re</sup>. He was educated in the school of the Canons of this Close from whence He went in 1698 to Wadham College—in the University of Oxford. He removed from thence to Lincoln's Inn in 1701 and was there called to the degree of Barrister-at-Law in 1705. In the year 1724 His Majesty King George the First was pleased to appoint him Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, where he was two years. In December 1726 He was advanced to the office of Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, and constituted one of the Lords Justices of that Kingdom; into which last office He was sworn eight several times. On the demise of King George the First, his Majesty King George the Second renewed his commission of Lord High Chancellor; and in September 1731 in consideration of his diligent and faithful service Was pleased to create him a Baron of the Kingdom of Ireland. He presided in six sessions of Parliament as Speaker of the House of Lords of Ireland where there is a session but once in two years. In April 1739 He sat as Lord High Steward of Ireland on the trial of Lord Barry of Santry being the first Lord High Steward that ever was appointed in that Kingdom. In September 1739 he resigned his offices at his own request, on account of an ill state of health contracted by a too intent and too long application to the great variety of Businesses He had been engaged in. He was a member of the established Church, a strenuous promoter of Justice, a faithful subject and a kind relation. He was born on the 27th day of December, 1681. He died on the 24th day of November, 1745.

NOTE.—On his death this title became extinct. Two other Wyndham peerages—the Earldom of Egremont, and the Irish Earldom of Thomond, with the Barony of Ibrackan—became extinct in 1845 and 1774 respectively. Percy, second son of Sir William Wyndham, succeeded his uncle Henry, Earl of Thomond, and bore the surname and arms of O'Brien, and died in 1740. (See "Extinct Peerage.") Of this family were the Wyndhams of Dunraven Castle, in Glamorganshire, a name apparently transferred to Ireland, and giving a title to the family of Wyndham-Quin. For notices of Lord Chancellor Wyndham, refer to Smyth's "Law Officers of Ireland," and the Paper lately read before the Society, on "Irish Law Officers in the Eighteenth Century," by Mr. F. Elrington Ball."—ED.

## Notices of Books.

[NOTE.—The works marked thus (\*) are by Members of the Society.]

*The History of Ireland.* By Geoffrey Keating, D.D. Vol. I. Edited, with Translation and Notes, by David Comyn, M.R.I.A. (London: Published for the Irish Texts Society, by David Nutt. 1902.)

FROM a variety of causes, political and social, the Irish language and literature derived very little advantage from the invention of printing, which in other countries led to so great diffusion of knowledge, activity of thought, and literary work. While literature in other lands was rapidly spread, the appearance of an Irish printed book was of great rarity. In Ireland, once renowned for scholarship, original literary work, discouraged and unfashionable, ceased to be known to the learned, and Irish as a literary language was saved from extinction only by scribes and teachers of the humblest condition.

The Irish Texts Society, in conjunction with others, is making a strong effort to remedy this state of things and give the language a new impetus. Many of the celebrated Irish historical and literary MSS., now lost for ever, would be available to-day if they had been preserved and multiplied in print. A great part of the MSS. of the last four centuries exists in single transcripts easily destroyed. The writer of the history of the Irish people will have to glean much of the history and inner life of the people from these frail sources. Printing alone can preserve such of them as are really valuable, and furnish the student of Irish language, literature, and history with reliable standard text-books.

The Society has now issued its fourth volume, the first part of the "History of Ireland," by Geoffrey Keating: it is edited and translated by Mr. David Comyn.

Fortunately, there are several MS. copies of this History in existence, some good, others indifferent; and it will be an important day for Irish students when the complete edition shall be in their hands. An important MS. will be preserved in print, and a valuable text-book made available. Portions of this work were published by Wm. Halliday in 1811, and by Dr. Joyce in 1881; but the present edition will be the first complete one.

It should prove very valuable as a text-book. Keating was a well-read man for his time, and reached a high literary level. Intensely Irish

in sympathy, thought, and expression, and a poet of no mean order, his History will be extremely useful in illustrating the grammar, idiom, and vocabulary of the language. Dr. Atkinson says that Keating's works are "veritably Irish, uncontaminated by English phrases, and written by a master of the language while it was yet a power." His vocabulary is copious and varied, his style natural and pleasing, and his illustrations, owing, perhaps, to his poetical nature, are singularly happy; and although the most critical student may take him as a model, yet, according to Dr. Atkinson, there is scarcely a line he has written which an Irish-speaking person at the present day may not grasp, except where archaic documents are quoted.

Perhaps it is premature, until a complete edition has been published, to discuss the historical value of this work, or contrast Keating with the great classical historians.

In the opinion of very competent judges he was the first historian of the Irish people, and he has furnished a very fair outline of our ancient history, and has drawn from the most genuine sources of Irish history, some of which have been lost since his time.

Although he may not be so rigidly accurate as the great annalists, and may have given too easy entrance to some ancient tales, yet he drew the vast bulk of his narrative from pretty much the same sources as they, and his History will remain as a great and co-ordinate authority.

The editor states that Keating is believed to have made several transcripts of his works, and in consequence has noted various readings or discrepancies existing in the best mss. He has very properly adhered closely to the text of his mss., not modernizing to any extent, and only excluding what he regards as certain mannerisms of the copyists. The translation is literal without being unreadable.

As the footnotes to the translation are very brief, it is to be hoped that, by a descriptive index or otherwise, Mr. Comyn will give more information concerning persons, places, and events, and so enhance the value of the History.

The volume is well printed, and the Society must be congratulated on the work selected, and on the way in which the editor has performed his task.

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*\*A History of the County Dublin. Part II. By Francis Elrington Ball. (Dublin: A. Thom & Co. 1903.) 5s.*

We are glad to welcome a second section of this work, which promises to form so valuable an addition to our Irish County Histories. Part I. prepared us to expect much from the labours of Mr. Ball. No writer of Irish history has more faithfully and untiringly searched for material, or more carefully combined the facts which his industry has brought



together; nor has any been more successful in presenting the resulting narrative in an attractive and interesting style.

Part II. amply maintains the high character of its predecessor. The district covered by it includes the ancient parishes and manors of Donnybrook, Merrion, Booterstown, Taney, Dundrum, and Rathfarnham, and the now suburban districts of Rathmines and Baggotrath. Though possessing few surviving relics of an early past, this district has been the home of several of the leading county families. The history of each is traced with the careful research which has characterized Mr. Ball's previous work.

The family of Fitzwilliam, of Merrion, is traced with special care from its first appearance in the fourteenth century until its extinction nearly five centuries later. During the whole of this time it played a leading part in the history of the county, and for a time in that of the country at large. Mr. Ball's researches, carried on in the family archives, in every available source here, as well as at Cambridge and London, have produced a history of this family which forms a valuable contribution to the story of our country. It is illustrated with excellent reproductions of a complete series of family portraits, extending over a period of two centuries.

Other families connected with the districts, whose history is given in the same way, are Ussher of Donnybrook, and Loftus of Rathfarnham. There are also shorter accounts of the families of Bagod, De Rideleford, Jocelyn, Le Bret, and others.

An excellent feature of Mr. Ball's work is the collection of admirable illustrations, which all really illustrate their subjects. Portraits, rare plates, and old paintings have been carefully sought for, and are very well reproduced.

Mr. Ball's interest has been attracted somewhat more by the personal than the social side of his work, though the latter is by no means neglected. We should have expected to find more, for example, of such subjects as Donnybrook Fair, and Vauxhall and Ranelagh Gardens, than the short notices given of them. He might, too, with advantage, have used more freely and fully the language of his authorities than he sometimes does. But if we are thus found fault-finding, our complaints only show that we so much appreciate what is written for us that we crave more.

The illustrations include a very good reproduction from the Down Survey, and a very clear modern map. In the latter, however, we think we notice a few sites not quite correctly placed; the plan, too, of representing the foreshore in the same way as the land is misleading.

We look forward with great interest to the future parts of the History.

## Proceedings.

(FIFTY-FIFTH YEARLY SESSION.)

### MUNSTER MEETING—YOUGHAL.

A GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held at Youghal, County Cork, in the Town Hall (by permission of the Chairman, Urban Council), on Tuesday, 4th August, 1903, at 8 o'clock p.m.;

JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*,  
in the Chair.

The following also attended :—

*Vice-Presidents.*—Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President for Ulster*.  
Major-General Stubbs, J.P., *Vice-President for Munster*.

*Hon. General Secretary.*—Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.

*Fellows.*—Arthur Fitzmaurice, J.P., Carlow; Edward Martyn, Tillyra Castle, County Galway; J. J. Perceval, J.P., Wexford; William N. Strangeways, London.

*Members.*—Rev. Chancellor Abbott, M.A., Tullow; Rev. W. F. Alment, B.D., Navan; Montgomery F. Barnes, Mullingar; John Barrett, B.A., Maerom; James Buckley, Solicitor, London; M. J. C. Buckley, Youghal; Lieut.-Colonel Biddulph, Tullamore; James Grene Barry, D.L., Ballyneety, County Limerick; George O. Carolin, J.P., Dublin; Henry A. Cosgrave, M.A., Dublin; Thomas B. Costello, M.D., Tuam; John J. Cranny, M.D., Dublin; Matthew Dorey, Dublin; Rev. Canon Fisher, M.A., Mountrath; P. J. Griffith, Dublin; Miss Rosa F. Grubb, Cahir; Francis Guilbride, J.P., Newtownbarry; Bryan Hennessy, New Ross; Rev. P. Hurley, R.P., Inchigeela; Miss Frances Keane, Glenshelane, Cappoquin; Lady Keane, Cappoquin House; Owen J. Kelly, J.P., Dundalk; Mrs. Owen J. Kelly, Dundalk; T. J. Mac Inerney, Drumecondra; D. T. McEnery, M.A., L.N.S., Clonmel; Rev. R. M. Miller, M.A., Roscrea; Rev. Canon Moore, M.A., Rural Dean, Mitchelstown; Rev. Thomas Mulvany, c.c., Killucan; Goddard H. Orpen, B.A., Enniscorthy; Miss L. J. Orpen, Enniscorthy; Lieut.-Colonel Orpen, Killiney; Miss Parkinson, Ennis; William H. Patterson, M.R.I.A., Belfast; George Shackleton, Lucan; Mrs. Shackleton, Lucan; Mrs. Simpson, Ballymena; James Tuite, M.P., Mullingar; Richard J. Usher, D.L., Cappagh; Joseph Vaughan, J.P., Athlone; W. J. Verlin, Solicitor, Youghal; William Webster, Solicitor, St. Helens, Lancashire; W. J. Wilkinson, B.A., Trim.

*Associates.*—Mrs. M. F. Barnes, Mullingar; Rev. S. R. S. Carolin; Miss Davys; Albany Fetherstonhaugh, B.A., Dublin; Miss Hurley, Inchigeela; James Milling, Bangor, County Down; Miss Neville, Ennis; Edward R. Orpen, Enniscorthy; Mrs. Orpen, Enniscorthy; Miss G. Staepoole, Ennis; Miss C. E. Stubbs, Cork.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows and Members were elected :—

#### AS FELLOWS.

Ashbourne, Right Hon. Lord, LL.D., Lord Chancellor of Ireland (*Member*, 1863), 12, Merrion-square, Dublin: proposed by John R. Garstin, D.L., M.R.I.A., *President*.

Glencross, J. Reginald M., M.A. (Cantab.), 10, St. Mary's-road, Dublin: proposed by George D. Burtchaell, M.A., *Fellow*.

Stapley, Sir Harry, Bart., Egypt Cottage, Cowes, Isle of Wight: proposed by Sir Thomas Drew, *Fellow*.

AS MEMBERS.

Boothman, Charles T., Barrister-at-Law, 14, Clarinda Park, West, Kingstown: proposed by the Rev. William W. Campbell.

Boothman, Mrs. Charles T., 14, Clarinda Park, West, Kingstown: proposed by the Rev. William W. Campbell.

Boyle, Rev. Henry, P.P., Mount St. Michael, Randalstown: proposed by the Very Rev. Alexander Mac Mullan, P.P.

Comerford, William, Urlingford National School, County Kilkenny: proposed by John Commins.

Dolan, Joseph F., M.A., Ardee: proposed by J. Ribton Garstin, D.L., *President*.

Doyle, the Very Rev. Canon James, P.F., St. Canice's, Kilkenny: proposed by M. M. Murphy, *Fellow*.

Gallagher, Miss Jane, Eglisli, Dungarvan, County Tyrone: proposed by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., *Fellow, Vice-President*.

Goddard, Norris, Solicitor, 52, Merrion-square, Dublin: proposed by John R. Garstin, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*.

Kennedy, Thomas Patrick, 12, Alwyne Mansions, Wimbledon, Surrey: proposed by Thomas F. Nooney.

Leslie, the Rev. J. Blennerhassett, M.A., Kilsaran Rectory, Castlebellingham: proposed by John R. Garstin, D.L., M.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *President*.

Lyons, the Very Rev. James, Dean of Ossory, The Deanery, Kilkenny: proposed by M. M. Murphy, *Fellow*.

Martin, William, Solicitor, Monaghan: proposed by D. Carolan Rushe, *Fellow*.

O'Leary, the Very Rev. Canon David, P.P., The Presbytery, Dingle: proposed by P. J. Lynch, *Fellow*.

Orpen, Miss Lillian Iris, Monksgrange, Enniscorthy: proposed by Goddard H. Orpen, B.A.

Orpen, Lieut.-Colonel (R.E.) Richard Theodore, St. Leonard's, Killiney, County Dublin: proposed by Goddard H. Orpen, B.A.

Reeves, Jonathan Townley, Assistant Secretary, Bank of Ireland, Dublin: proposed by The O'Morchoe.

Robinson, James, Solicitor, 47, Up. Mount-st., Dublin: proposed by The O'Morchoe.

Slevin, Felix, Manager, Hibernian Bank, Londonderry: proposed by Mrs. Sheridan.

Stevenson, James, Fort James, Londonderry: proposed by the Rev. William O'Neill Lindesay, M.A.

Stevenson, Mrs. James, Fort James, Londonderry: proposed by the Rev. William O'Neill Lindesay, M.A.

Verlin, W. J., Solicitor, Youghal: proposed by M. J. C. Buckley, *Hon. Local Sec., East Cork*.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

"The Ancient Highway of the Decies," by the Rev. Patrick Power.

"The Town Walls of Youghal," by M. J. C. Buckley, *Hon. Local Sec., East Cork*.

"Notes on Sir Walter Raleigh's House at Youghal," by Goddard H. Orpen, B.A.

The following Papers were taken as read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

"The Antiquities of Ardmore, County Waterford," by T. J. Westropp, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

"Antiquarian Notes on Youghal," by Robert Day, J.P., F.S.A., *Vice-President*.



## EXCURSIONS.

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TUESDAY, AUGUST 4th, 1903.

## EXCURSION IN YOUGHAL AND VICINITY AND EVENING MEETING.

THE members assembled at the Town Hall at 11.30 a.m., where they were received and welcomed to Youghal by Richard Carey, Esq., J.P., Chairman of the Urban Council. The ancient muniments of the town were exhibited; and afterwards the party proceeded to visit several places of antiquarian interest in the ancient town of Youghal, under the guidance of Mr. M. J. C. Buckley, *Hon. Local Secretary for East Cork*. An interval was allowed to members from 1.30 to 2.30 for lunch at their respective hotels, and they assembled again at 2.30 p.m. at the Collegiate Church of St. Mary (by permission of the Rector, Rev. J. R. H. Becher), and after devoting an hour and a half to this most interesting church, the grounds of Sir Walter Raleigh's House were visited (by permission of His Excellency Sir Henry Blake and Lady Blake, the present owners, who unfortunately were absent). Through the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Sealy Allin, the College and its grounds were visited. Proceeding thence, the ancient town walls were examined, and they were described by Mr. Buckley. Another interval was allowed from 6 to 8 p.m.; and at the latter hour the Evening Meeting was held in the Town Hall, for the reading of Papers, and examination of the following exhibits:—

By ROBERT DAY, Esq.—Dated specimens of Youghal Delph, viz. three plates, a puzzle-jug, and a blue decorated jar; also the seal of John Thyngul (*vide* Hayman's *Memorials*, p. 36, 1863. Lindsay, Youghal).

By THE REV. J. R. H. BECHER.—Plate of St. Mary's, Youghal, with the Youghal town-mark. Made by Edward Gillett.

By THE REV. W. T. C. DAY, Rector of Killeagh.—The Chalice of Killeagh, with the Youghal town-mark. Made by Edward Gillett.

By THE REV. L. M. BEATTY, Rector of Corkbeg.—The Chalice of Iter Murragh. By the same maker.

By M. J. C. BUCKLEY, Esq.—Case of "Relics" of Early Celtic Art; also specimens of "greybeard" jugs, similar to some found in the Dock at Youghal; Celtic bronze rings; brass candelabra (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) from County Kilkenny, &c.

The ancient Charters of Youghal and other muniments were exhibited by the Chairman and Secretary of the Urban Council in the Town Hall on Tuesday morning at 11.30, as there was then a better opportunity in daylight of examining them.

The President delivered a short address to the meeting, which was adjourned to the following evening.

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*WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5th, 1903.*

The members assembled at the Devonshire Arms at 10 a.m., and proceeded to several places of antiquarian interest in Youghal not visited the previous day. At 2 p.m., after lunch, the party again met at the Devonshire Arms, and drove to Rincrow Preceptory, Temple Michael, and the Abbey of Molana, the latter on an island on the River Blackwater at Ballinatray, the seat of Lady Harriet and Colonel (Holroyd) Smyth, who kindly received them.

An adjourned meeting was held at 8.30 in the evening, in the Town Hall, the President in the Chair.

The President described the several exhibits of silver, referring especially to the subject of hall-marks on Irish plate, and supplementing Mr. Day's notices of the work of Youghal and Cork silversmiths.

Additional exhibits were examined and discussed, including the following by Dr. Charles Ronayne :—Ancient Deed of the Provost of Youghal, Richard II., 1394 ; original Warrant of Queen Elizabeth, with the Queen's Autograph and Seal, granting a pension to Eleanor, Countess of Desmond, widow of the last and great Earl ; ancient Map of Youghal, *temp.* Elizabeth ; Youghal Pipes, smoked by Raleigh ; Key of Franciscan or South Abbey ; Key of the College, *temp.* Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork ; Youghal Tokens.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. M. J. C. Buckley, *Hon. Local Secretary*, for his valuable services in connexion with the Excursions.

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*THURSDAY, AUGUST 6th, 1903.*

On Thursday morning the party, under the guidance of Mr. Buckley, completed the survey of places of interest in Youghal, assembling at the same hour and place as on the previous day, and adjourning for lunch at 12.30 p.m. Members re-assembled at the Devonshire Arms at 1.45 p.m., where cars were in readiness to convey them to Ardmore to see the Round Tower and the ruins of Ardmore Cathedral, under the guidance of Mr. R. J. Ussher, D.L., *Hon. Local Secretary, County Waterford*.

The party returned by road to Youghal, crossing the new bridge over the River Blackwater at Youghal Harbour.

*FRIDAY, AUGUST 7th, 1903.*

On this day Lismore was visited, and the Castle seen (by permission of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, *Fellow*, and late *Hon. President* of the Society); also Lismore Cathedral, under the guidance of the Very Rev. Dr. Brougham, Dean, who read a paper on the Cathedral. The party lunched at the Hotel, and afternoon tea was kindly provided for them in the banqueting-hall of the Castle by the Duke of Devonshire. Mr. Penrose showed the party the MS. "Book of Lismore," the famous crozier, and the silver maces, &c. The carriages left the Devonshire Arms at 9 a.m., arriving at Lismore at 12 noon. The return journey was made by road to Cappoquin, where the steamer was taken, at 6 p.m., for Youghal, down the River Blackwater.



The following notes on the places visited have been contributed :—

#### YOUGHAL.<sup>1</sup>

THE very ancient town of Youghal derives its name from the two Celtic words, *eo*, “a yew-tree,” and *kyle*, or *caille*, “a wood”—that is, the yew-wood. This name is the same as Okyle, which is a small place on the banks of the River Bride, near Tallow, County Waterford. There is there the ruin of a very remarkable old church of the fourteenth century, in a dilapidated and unprotected state, attached to which is a most curious



THE OLD TOWN WALLS OF YOUGHAL.

little edifice of very small dimensions, roofed in stone, of similar form and construction to the bee-hive huts on the Aran Islands. It seems to have been the cell of a hermit, or anchorite, and, with the exception of the traces of a similar cell in the north-east wall of the chancel of St. Canice's Cathedral in Kilkenny, is, perhaps, the only example of such an abode in Ireland. A townland named Ballyanchor lies in the same district—no

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<sup>1</sup> By Mr. M. J. C. Buckley.



THE CLOCK TOWER AND GATEWAY, YOUGHAL.

(From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

doubt, this place was the endowment or "termon" land of the hermit. The town of Youghal is situated on the west side of the harbour, where the River "Avonmore" or "Broadwater," now called the "Blackwater"—as Spenser the poet writes, "the Awny-dubh," by Englishmen called "Blackwater"—discharges itself into the Atlantic Ocean.

The geological formation on both sides of the river is the same, consisting of Upper Old Red Sandstone, Carboniferous slate, and Carboniferous limestone. An immense submerged forest lies underneath the strand, which extends from "Clay Castle" towards Knocadoon. A bar of sand, and large masses of gravel, cemented together by carbonate of lime (which is held in solution by the waters of the river), render the entrance of the harbour very dangerous, and prevent large modern ships from entering. The Danes, or rather the "Vikings," were the first to establish a small "burgh" or trading-fort here in the course of the ninth century. Doubtless, an early Irish fortified enclosure or "rath" existed here, ages before the arrival of the Scandinavian searovers. This "rath" they seem to have incorporated within the circuit of their palisaded burgh or "ton." The name is still preserved in "Raheen-lane," near the present town walls. The town grew and prospered under the rule of the Northmen for a long period, until the arrival of King Henry II. in 1172, when the Northmen, who had then become Christians, were granted many privileges, amongst which "murage," the right of taking toll to erect or repair the fortified walls, is included. The chequered history of the town, like that of many other places in Ireland, is full of interest, and its details are too voluminous to be told briefly; but that very interesting volume called the "Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal," recording Urban transactions from 1610 to 1800, gives us a very clear idea of the social manners and customs of this corporate town during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries.



RALEGH'S HOUSE, YOUGHAL.<sup>1</sup>

THE building known as Sir Walter Raleigh's house at Youghal looks to-day from the outside much the same as it must have looked more than three hundred years ago, when the famous soldier, sea-captain, colonizer, poet, historian, statesman, and courtier (to give him a few of his titles to fame) of Queen Elizabeth's reign is believed to have some time sojourned there. Slates, indeed, replace the original thatch on the roof, and modern glass the ancient leaded panes in the windows; but the pleasantly broken front, with its three gablets, projecting porch, and bay-



SIR WALTER RALEGH'S HOUSE, YOUGHAL.  
(From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

window; the south end with its sunny oriel; the back with its towering chimneys; the massive wall, five feet thick; the high-pitched gables, all remain, perhaps almost unchanged. Entering the house, we pass through the hall and visit the low dining-room on the ground-floor, from which a subterranean passage is said to have connected the house with St. Mary's Church. Upstairs there are handsome rooms wainscoted with dark oak. One of these retains in its fire-place the old blue Dutch tiles with scriptural subjects enclosed in a circular border. In a recess in this room

<sup>1</sup> By Goddard H. Orpen, B.A., Barrister-at-Law.

behind the wainscoting was discovered about the middle of the last century "a part of the old monkish library hidden at the period of the Reformation." One volume contained a black-letter compendium of scriptural events from the Creation to the days of the Apostles, printed at Mantua in 1479, together with Peter Comestor's "*Historia Scolastica*," printed at Strasburg in 1483. It is a pity we have not a complete list of the library, as it might help to throw light on the date of the house. The principal room, that with the sunny oriel window, still preserves its beautiful mantelpiece of elaborately carved oak rising up to the panelled ceiling. Three figures, representing Faith, Hope, and Charity, support the cornice, above which is an open-work parapet by an apparently later and inferior hand. The panels between the figures are ornamented with fantastic shields, while an exquisite design runs over the lintel of the fireplace, itself supported by grotesque figures. Unfortunately the original tiles of the fireplace have in this instance been removed.

In the garden four old yew-trees, said to have been planted by Raleigh himself, are still flourishing, and look very young for their age. The myrtle-trees, however, which were also supposed to date from his time, and which at one period gave their name to the house, were destroyed in a storm some years ago. Here Raleigh is believed to have planted the first potatoes ever grown in Ireland, and to have smoked, if not even planted, the first tobacco, and, no doubt, "found many rare and woonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof." At any rate, we know that in these and in many other directions, such as mining enterprises, fruit culture, making pipestaves, exporting wool, &c., he was busily engaged at the Irish industrial revival just three centuries before the time.

The house is believed to have been originally intended for the residence of the Warden of the College of Youghal, and to have been built soon after the year 1464, when the College was founded by Thomas, the eighth Earl of Desmond. (See the article contributed by the Rev. Samuel Hayman to the Society's *Journal* for the year 1856, pp. 16-28.) The house can be plainly identified in the map of "Youghal as in Elizabeth's reign when sacked by the Earl of Desmond," reproduced, from a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, in the Society's *Journal*, 1868-9, p. 469, more doubtfully in the Map of Youghal in "*Pacata Hibernia*." For Sir Walter Raleigh's connexion with it we have to rely on tradition, in this case probably well founded. He probably obtained possession of it about the year 1587, in connexion with his Crown Grant of 42,000 acres on the rivers Blackwater and Bride. His visits to Ireland, however, at this time were fitful and only for short periods, confined probably to the years 1587 to 1589. He managed his huge estates by deputy, and they went from bad to worse; and in December, 1602, he sold them all, including the College of Youghal, to Sir Richard Boyle, afterwards first Earl of Cork. Since then the house has changed hands many times. Not many years ago it was occupied by Sir John Pope Hennessy, who in

1883 wrote a bitter monograph on Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland. The house has been known in legal documents as Sir Lawrence Parsons' House, and in recent times as Myrtle Grove, &c.; but, in a truer historical perspective, it is now indissolubly linked with the memory of one of the most remarkable personalities of his own or indeed of any age, Sir Walter Raleigh.

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#### RINCREW PRECEPTORY.<sup>1</sup>

ON the summit of the hill, at the confluence of the Blackwater, or "Avonmore," with the River Toorigh ("The King's Bleach-green"), are the ruins of a Preceptory of Knights Templars, said to have been founded in 1183 A.D., by Raymond le Gros. These ruins are very extensive, covering almost the whole of the top of the hill. The foundations of the chapel, cloisters, refectory, and kitchen may still be traced, but with difficulty. The chapel is about 66 feet long by 27 feet wide; and the walls are nearly 5 feet in thickness; the sills of the opes of the eastern window are still visible. There is a long vaulted "undercroft," or cellar, under the apartments which existed on the eastern side of the cloister. This chamber, which is about 51 feet by 17 feet, is covered by early pointed vaulting of stone about 11 feet high, roughly grouted and undressed. There are no traces whatever now left of any carved stonework; doubtless, in the construction of this semi-monastic, semi-military establishment, very little ornamental sculpture was to be found. The walls in parts are exceedingly thick, being upwards of 6 feet in width. All the stones used in the construction are of small size, and seem to have been quarried on the top of the hill. Seven deeply-splayed spike-opes light this "undercroft," four of these being in the eastern wall, two in the southern, and one at the north-east corner. Traces are still remaining above the vaulted chamber of small apartments. The dormitory, supported on thick oaken beams, and divided into cubicles or cells (of which we see the vestiges in the Abbey of Molana, near Ballinatra), must have once existed over the refectory, and in proximity to the chapel. Local tradition says that some carved effigies of the Knights (such as may still be seen in the ruined and dismantled chapel of the Knights Hospitallers, at Hospital, County Limerick) were to be seen in the ruins at the beginning of the last century, but all traces of such statues are now lost. The Preceptory was granted, after the dissolution of the monasteries, to Sir Walter Raleigh, A.D. 1585, and was after-

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<sup>1</sup> By Mr. M. J. C. Buckley.



wards assigned, A.D. 1602, to Robert Boyle, the "Great" Earl of Cork. Few, if any, historical details are left concerning this monastic fortress.

#### TEMPLE MICHAEL CASTLE.

This castle, one of the Geraldine fortresses, stands in a most picturesque position by the side of the Blackwater. It is very likely that its name of "Teampul Mihil," or Michael's Church, owes its origin to the Templars of Rincrew having possession of the crossing or ferry at this point. This stronghold has been very much battered and maltreated by the cannon, which the Lord Protector brought to bear upon it, from a hill near Ballinatra, leaving only the southern and eastern walls of the keep still standing, with a portion of the spiral stone stairs inside. There still remains part of one of the small, circular, curtain towers of the walls of the "bawn" or castleyard. The castle was erected in the course of the fourteenth century by one of the Fitz Gerald family, the last of whom when in possession, in the year 1645, assisted Lord Castlehaven to cross the Blackwater at this point, in order that he might bombard Youghal from the ferry-point. The architectural features of this keep were similar in type to those in the fortalice of Kilnatoora, of which a short description will be found below.

#### THE ABBEY OF MOLANA.

This ruin is situate on what was formerly an island called *Dar-Inis*, and was founded, in the sixth century, by *St. Molanfidhe*. Within recent times (in 1806) this island was united to the mainland by a causeway. Probably it derived its name of "Oak Island" from having been a "crannog" or island habitation surrounded by oaken stakes, such as we still see round an islet in one of the lakes of Inchigeela, County Cork. Such an islet would have formed a secure and commodious site for the primitive "Laura," or monastic settlement, of the early Christian missionaries, in the midst of a densely-wooded and trackless land, as all this country was then, and even down to the time of Raleigh. There are still extensive remains of the church, with its tower, the chapter-room, or "scriptorium," the refectory, and its adjacent kitchen and draw-well, as well as the cloister-garth, or "paradise." The church was divided into nave and choir by an arch, of which the bases of the piers are still to be seen. The choir was lighted by six lancet-headed windows on the south, four on the north, and a two-light window in the eastern wall. The church is about 120 feet in length, and 24 feet wide; and the walls, up to the springing of the roof, are 27 feet in height, and about 3 feet in thickness. The type of the architectural remains, still to be found, seems to be in Early English style. In the refectory is a fine, round-arched, moulded and

ornamented window, which appears to be of an earlier date, and more "Romanesque" in treatment. This window is now filled up with a modern wall and slab, surmounted by a sham Greek cinerary urn (surely the Norman knight was not cremated!), dedicated to the memory of Raymond le Gros, who is said, on the authority of a Carew ms., to have been buried here in 1186 A.D. The cloisters had no arcaded opes or arches, such as we see at Ardfert, in County Kerry, and in so many other abbeys in Ireland and elsewhere. The "ambulatory" of this humble cloister was roofed, most probably with oaken planks, covered by slates, quarried (as they have been down to recent times) on the banks of the Finisk, a few miles away on the opposite side of the Blackwater. This oaken roof rested on wooden posts, and the floor was composed, most likely, of local stone slabs. There are some traces still remaining of mural decoration, in the shape of white "ashlar" lines, traced on a light rose-red ground, on the walls of the apartment, near the chapter-room, which was most probably used as the "scriptorium," or writing room. This room commands a most delightful prospect over the broad waters of the "Avonmore," and it must have formed, in days gone by, an ideal retreat for the skilled penmen of the Middle Ages, whose labours have left us such magnificent memorials of their learning, skill, and industry. This abbey, originally under the ancient Celtic monastic rule, became a monastery of Canons Regular of St. Augustine, after the Norman Conquest.

KILNATOORA CASTLE, YOUGHAL.<sup>1</sup>

THIS fortalice is a fair type of the fortified houses or "keeps," which were erected in great numbers by the Hiberno-Normans, all along the limits of the Pale (in the same manner as they did in Wales and Scotland); these castles served similar defensive purposes as the blockhouses which were built during the recent South African war, all along the border lines. The keep at Kilnatoora, as well as that at Cornaveigh (which is now utterly ruined), was a Geraldine stronghold; after the attainder of the Earl of Desmond, in Elizabeth's reign, these castles passed into the possession of Sir Walter Raleigh, and afterwards of the Earls of Cork. In Kilnatoora we see the expedients adopted by the military engineers of those days, in order to make use of the new weapons (such as small cannon called "culverins," and guns or "arquebuses," either of brass or iron), which the general employment of gunpowder, both for offensive and defensive operations, was then introducing all over Europe. In looking at the destructive havoc wrought on the solidly-built limestone walls of such fortresses of the Middle Ages, an intelligent observer of these "signs of the times" may well say that gunpowder, the invention of a peaceful German monk, was one of the most powerful agents for the overthrow of the whole Feudal system, both here and in every other European country. Kilnatoora was besieged, in 1645, by Lord Castlehaven, the commander of the Irish Royalist forces, which were fighting for the king. The garrison having been called upon to surrender, they refused to do so, and Castlehaven bombarded the fortress and made a breach in the walls. The place being taken "upon mercy," as it was called, the commandant, who was Lieutenant Smyth, was thereupon shot dead; such summary methods seem to have been carried out by the commanders on both sides. We have several letters from Castlehaven addressed to the Republican commanders of various fortresses in this part of the country, ordering them to surrender their "strong places" into his hands. We shall quote two or three of these peremptory epistles. For instance, "To the Commander of the Castle of Mogeely," he writes, "I summon you therefore to yield that hold of Mogeely instantly, into my hands, and to become yourself of our party, which if you do, you shall have quarter; otherwise, I will make you and your warden, such an example, as I did last night, to your neighbours at Conna Castle, by putting to the sword some,

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<sup>1</sup> By Mr. M. J. C. Buckley.



and hanging the rest." June 19th, 1645. This summons not being obeyed, next day the following missive was sent to the Governor of Mogelly:—

"SIR,—I have now showed you my artillery, against the effect of which you can make no resistance, wherefore, come forth instantly, and submit yourselves, otherwise, you, the Governor, shall be infallibly hanged, and your company hanged, or put to the sword, by your friend, CASTLEHAVEN."

This summons was obeyed.

Another letter was addressed to the commander of Templemichael, to this effect:—

"SIR GOVERNOR,—You may remember that when I sent for you yesterday, you not only refused to come, but in my defiance, flourished a sword on the top of your castle. If you do not instantly come forth, and submit yourself unto me, I will put to death you and all the men within your place. And as I was so favourable as only to hang the Governor and Warden of Strangally, because they made me stay some hours there, I will shoot you out of the cannon's mouth, and give my soldiers the massacring of all under your warders." June 29th, 1645.

This shows the power which artillery was gaining in the warlike operations of those times.

Kilnatoora Tower, as far as the edifice is concerned, is still fairly perfect. As is usual in such fortified dwellings, all the apertures, for light and air, on the ground-floor, as well as of the story above it, are merely narrow slits, so as to prevent all ingress; the entrance doorway in the south-east angle of the southern face of the castle, was defended by a small cannon, for which a circular aperture was provided outside the oaken and iron-bound door. The stone stairs, circular in form, winds upwards, on the Archimedean screw principle, to the floors above. The entrance corridor is most ingeniously fortified against sudden intrusion of enemies, by means of an opening in the ceiling, through which molten lead, red-hot sand, cauldrons of boiling water, and other disagreeable "missiles" were showered on the heads of unwelcome intruders; for in such military dwellings every part of the building was prepared for hand-to-hand defence, in case of necessity. The vaulted lower apartment was used for the storage of salted meats, and barrels of beer (or "cervoise") and wine, as well as cheeses, etc. There was also a wooden floor resting on the stone corbels which divided the room in two; this loft was the store or grenier for corn, hard-baked bread or biscuits, oatmeal, and other perishable provisions. The vaulting of rough stonework was evidently "turned" or built on wattles of willow twigs, which have left their indents on the bed of concrete, on which the

"keying" stones were set. The first floor chamber, a spacious one, was the living-room of the Warden and his family; the windows of this apartment, being above the reach of besiegers, are larger than the lower ones; they are provided with seats on both sides of their reveals. These seats, when cushioned (as we see them in many illuminations of MSS.), formed comfortable and safe lounges, no doubt, for the ladies and gentlemen of that troubled period. This living-room, as well as the upper ones above it, communicates by means of long narrow passages with "garde-robes" or cabinets, having doors cutting off communication with the rooms to which they belonged, thus showing that, rude and uncomfortable as we may esteem them nowadays, these mediæval dwellings were provided with most practical sanitary arrangements, which arrangements have been, in most cases, ignorantly called "murdering-holes."

Ascending by the stone stairs, we reach a chamber which was evidently the dormitory; the shallow alcoves next the windows were for the reception of "pallets" or beds, with movable wooden bedsteads; curtains hanging from rods separated these sleeping-places from the rest of the room. A lofty garret was formed under the planked and slated roof; this garret was generally used for the storage of clothes and armour, along with woollen coverings, coffers, and boxes. A narrow stairs led up to the broad stone walk inside the parapets. A small turret stood on the north-eastern angle of the castle; this turret was provided with a "cresset," or iron basket, which held the signal fire, that was lit in case of necessity, for signalling to the other castles for many miles around the approach of an enemy or of any other imminent danger; a small "boudoir," used most likely as an Oratory, with wide window opes, of cusped arcades, existed in the south-east angle, and it is evident that all this ornamental arcading was ruined and brought down from the effects of cannon shot. Lofty chimneys, built up from the parapets, surmount the roof-gables; the fire-places communicating with these chimney-shafts, were large ogee-arched hearths, in which blocks of wood and peat were burned, as sea-borne coal was then unknown in this part of Ireland. "Aumbries," or cupboards, made in the thickness of the wall, are to be found in the different rooms; and there can be no doubt that these cupboards, as well as the walls themselves, were lined with wooden panellings, such as are still to be seen in the fortified manor-house of the Earls of Ormond at Carrick-on-Suir, and in the "Warden's House" (now called Sir Walter Raleigh's) in Youghal. The keep of Kilnatoora, like many other fortalices, was occupied solely by the Governor and his family; the men-at-arms of the garrison lived in the outhouses or in the small towers attached to the "ballium" or "bawn" of the castle. A few traces of this "bawn" are still remaining here, amongst them being one of the ruined angle-turrets or bastions. We can find no signs of the gate of the castle-yard, nor of any other outward defensive works. Of

the small "kill" or primitive church, from whence the locality derives its name, a few foundations can still be traced a short distance from the castle walls; but no other architectural remnants are now to be found. As this Tower of Kilnatoora is a most interesting type of its kind, and is well worthy of preservation, I think some measures should be taken by the County Council to prevent quarrying being carried further into the limestone rock on which the keep stands, for we can ill afford to lose this, now silent, witness of so many of the fierce struggles for supremacy which occurred during ages past along the historic banks of the fair, broad Avonmore.



NOTES ON YOUGHAL.<sup>1</sup>

THE ancient and important town of Youghal has been most fortunate in the number and ability of its historians, commencing in Elizabeth's reign with the great Earl of Cork, and ending with the learned antiquary, Richard Caulfield, the interval having been filled by Alderman Thomas Cooke, who wrote in 1749; Thomas Lord, who issued from his printing press in Youghal, anno 1784, "The Ancient and Present State of Youghal," and the Rev. Samuel Hayman, who published in his native town its Historical, Ecclesiastical, and Antiquarian Records, &c.

Of these published works, the first-named, containing the remembrances and diaries of Sir Richard Boyle, first and great Earl of Cork, was issued in ten volumes for private circulation, and edited by the Rev. Alexander Grosart.<sup>2</sup> It abounds in references to Youghal, and contains abundant evidence of the interest taken by the Earl of Cork in its trade, industries and manufactures, and the exports and imports of its harbour. Who would now suppose that in the reign of Charles I., instead of importing manufactured iron from Wales, it was mined, smelted, converted into bars, and exported to the Continent and England, in cargoes from Lord Cork's ironworks at Lismore, Lisfinny Castle, and Cappoquin, on the banks of the Blackwater, where the barges were loaded, and floated down the river to his stores at Youghal, and from thence abroad? This important trade continued for years, until at last the supply of forest timber was exhausted; no more charcoal could be produced, and the cost of imported coal was prohibitive, making it too expensive a substitute to work with profit. Another department of his export trade was the manufacture of pipe and hogshead staves. In one of his entries, under anno 1619, he writes: "I paid John Brothers for the making of 52,000 pipe staves, last made in M'Donagh's woods at 32s. the thousand, delivered free in my yard at Youghal at £3 a thousand. I have also agreed with him to make me 100,000 hogshead staves delivered free in my yard at Youghill," &c.

In 1749, Alderman Thomas Cooke, of Youghal, presented to the Right Hon. Henry Boyle, afterwards first Earl of Shannon, a memoir of the town, giving an account of its laws and customs, its offices, gates, walls, church immunities and privileges, with a list of its mayors, bailiffs, burgesses, and freemen from 1542 to 1749. This has been

<sup>1</sup> By Robert Day, F.S.A., *Vice-President*.

<sup>2</sup> Privately printed in 1878.

edited by the writer from the original MS. in his possession, and will be found in the Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, vol ix., 2nd Ser. Hitherto it had been unpublished, except the præmium, which appeared for the first time in Hayman's "Handbook for Youghal."<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Cooke, the author, was Bailiff in 1744, and Mayor in 1746, and again in 1747. His family was of good repute, as members of it were elected to the office of Chief Magistrate during a period of six successive years. This MS. antedates the "Council Book" by sixty-eight years, and carries the town records back to the reign of Henry VIII., anno 1542.

In 1784, Thomas Lord, a printer in Youghal, published there a little volume of 130 pp., dedicated to the Corporation, entitled "The Ancient and Present State of Youghal, containing a natural, civil, ecclesiastical, and topographical history thereof."

This was followed by the Rev. Samuel Hayman in his "Notes and Records of the religious foundations at Youghal," and a Guide to Youghal, Ardmore, and the Blackwater, editions of which were printed by John Lindsay at the "Old Lindsay Press," Youghal, in 1855-1858,<sup>2</sup> 1860, &c.

Lastly, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to Richard Caulfield, the cultured and learned antiquary, profound scholar, and indefatigable worker, who, when in failing health, edited, as it were a lasting legacy, "The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal," with added notes made during his summer vacations in the Public Record Office, British Museum, Bodleian Library, and from other original sources, both public and private.

The Cork Corporation Records, published also by Dr. Caulfield, although useful to the local antiquary and illustrative of contemporary manners, are, in comparison with those of Youghal, singularly devoid of historical value. The latter are of much importance as illustrative of the condition of Munster during a period of which detailed information is unfortunately scanty. They form a complete record of the town during the Rebellion of 1641 and the Commonwealth, inclusive of the orders and requisitions of Lord Inchiquin relative to the large garrisons then stationed in the town.

Concerning the industries of the town, neither Jordan nor Hayman

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay, Youghal, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> Lindsay has only recently died. His father, John Wesley Lindsay, commenced business as a printer here in 1824, having served his apprenticeship in Cork, and purchased there an old wooden press, which had formerly belonged to James Blow, a well-known printer in Belfast in 1696. It is believed to have been the very press at which the first Bible printed in Ireland (8vo, Belfast, 1704) was struck off. Blow sold it to a Cork printer, who used it in publishing a small newspaper, and with him it remained until Lindsay purchased it in 1824. (*Vide* Cotton's *Typographical Gazetteer* (Macmillan, 1866), and *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ii., p. 76, 2nd Ser.; also Madden's *Irish Periodical Literature*, and Anderson's *Belfast-printed Books*.)

makes any mention of the manufacture of delf in Youghal. Notices of the earthenware works, which were owned and for many years successfully worked by the Drury family, occur by both; but of the higher class glazed and decorated delf, which was made there during the first half of the eighteenth century, there is no notice. That this manufacture existed there can be no doubt, as well-authenticated examples are preserved by the descendants of Youghal families; one of these, the late Robert J. Lecky, writing in 1889 from London, informed me that "the tradition concerning the delf is, that a vein of white clay was discovered in the neighbourhood, and some trials were made with it, but only in a very small way; that the place was covered up, and the locality entirely forgotten. I have a doll's cup and saucer made of it, diameter  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inches and  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches, a thick white glaze, the clay a light grey straw colour.

The cup has the initials  $\begin{matrix} H \times L, \\ 1751 \end{matrix}$ <sup>1</sup> and a mock Chinese ornamentation outside, colour light blue. These were part of a set given to my grandaunt, Hannah Poole, *née* Lecky (born in 1741), when ten years old. (She died in Cork in 1820.) I have the tradition from my father, who was born in Cork in 1764. I don't know whether there is still there any manufacture of the coarse brown ware once carried on rather extensively by Fishers and Drurys. There were some fairly successful experiments made by grinding up the wasters, of which there must be large quantities buried, and mixing with fresh clay, so that, with modern machinery and more careful manipulation, I fancy a much-improved class of earthenware could be made."

Miss Baker, of Carrigbeg, Cork, has four fully authenticated specimens, one of which was presented to me. The body of the clay composing these is a light grey, the glaze a very pale bluey-white, the decoration a full deep blue, the ornamentation Chinese in character. One of these is a 14-inch circular dish, painted in a willow pattern, with pagoda, bridge, water, and landscape, also a plate 9 inches diameter, with flower and leaf pattern of the same colour. And two plates,  $7\frac{7}{8}$  inches wide, of the same body and same glaze, plain borders, and within three concentric rings the initials E. H., for E. Highnet, an ancestor of Miss Baker's, for whom the set of ware was made.

In my own very small collection are the following examples of this rare and little known delf:—

1. The plate of E. Highnet, 1738, before described, marked  $\begin{matrix} E. H. \\ 1738 \end{matrix}$ .
2. An armorial plate. Arg. three *fleur-de-lys*, az., between six cross crosslets for Hillary, County Warwick, with the initials K. H., and date 1747.
3. A puzzle jug of the same colours, similar to one exhibited in the

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<sup>1</sup> Smith's "Cork," vol. i., p. 70. (Guy, 1893.)



Agricultural and Technical Loan Department of the Cork Exhibition, 1902, and with the same inscription :—

“ Here, Gentlemen, come try your skill,  
I’le hould a wager if you will,  
That you don’t drink this liquor all  
Without you spill, or lett some fall.”

4. An 8-inch fluted oviform jar without cover, with a dark blue decoration composed of birds, flowers, ferns and rushes. It was given to me some years ago by a lady member of an old Youghal family, who, because it was made in her native town, prized it greatly, and treasured it for the family associations that clustered round it.

Lord, writing of the manufactures of Youghal in 1784, places that of earthenware at the head of the list, “a considerable quantity of which is made in Youghal,” and goes on to say, “it is far from being brought to the perfection the manufacture requires. A considerable branch of this trade, and which we continue to import in vast quantities from Holland, is the article of tiles for roofing and flooring, as also chimney tiles, in many of which one meets with no unelegant designs done by children in that industrious country, and sold extremely cheap.”

Lord also mentions the “exceeding good brick made in Youghal, very little inferior to that which comes from England.” Although a century and a half has elapsed since he wrote, the industry continues to flourish, and to retain the high reputation which it then so justly bore.

Hayman<sup>1</sup> figures and describes a bronze seal which was found near the precincts of the Franciscan Friary on Dec. 31, 1853, in the garden of R. H. Rogers, Esq., from whom I purchased it in 1898. The matrix of this seal is circular,  $\frac{7}{8}$ -inch diameter; the handle is hexagonal, tapering until it expands into a trefoil head of yellowish bronze. The central device of the seal is surrounded at the edge by a pearl border, and may be described as an almond-shaped vesica [emblem of the Blessed Virgin], intersected by a square, having in the middle of the field a heart proper in high relief, pierced in the centre by a sword pointing downwards. The heart rests on an open calix of a flower-de-luce, or Mary Lily, the position of the sword being symbolic of Simeon’s prophetic words to Mary. The inscription surrounds the vesica, and reads, in black-letter :—

“✠ S. FRIS. JOH. THYNGHUL.”

Our Local Secretary, Mr. Buckley, has suggested that the legend is composite in character through an error of the engraver in omitting a stop between the letters “th” and “yughul,” the first being an abbreviation for “Thesaurarius,” treasurer of the convent. Yughul is one of the varieties of mediæval spelling for Youghal, and this seal would, if his conjecture be well founded, be that of

“FRIAR JOHN, THE TREASURER [OF ST. MARY’S FRIARY], YOUGHAL.”

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<sup>1</sup> Page 30. John Lindsay, Youghal, 1858.

## YOUGHAL SILVERSMITHS' WORK.

It is to Cooke's MS. we are indebted for a list of the various trades, of which the four guilds of the town were composed; they are not mentioned by Hayman, and only referred to by Caulfield as the Clothiers, Leathermen, Victuallers, and Hammermen.

It is with the last-named that the Goldsmiths were incorporated, viz. Goldsmiths, Black Smiths, Peuterers, Shipwrights, House Carpenters, Joiners, Coopers, Tilers, Masons, Cutlers, Brasiers, and Glaziers.<sup>1</sup>

Messrs. Egan & Son, of Cork, had recently for repairs a dated chalice with the Youghal marks. It was  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, the cup plain, and measuring 4 inches deep by  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide at the mouth, resting on a baluster stem, with pear-shaped knop, on which were three cherubs' heads, winged, of applied chased work. The foot was splayed, forming a rose of ten petals, the raised dividing lines of which had each a *fleur-de-lys*, and in one of the open spaces a representation of the Crucifixion, and the date 1644, the whole resting on a gadrooned edge all engraved. On the cup were four marks, viz., the galley, and maker's stamp twice repeated I. G., which corresponds with John Green, Goldsmith, whose name is mentioned in the Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal, anno 1652. This is the earliest example of Youghal marked plate that has so far been recorded, dating from the reign of Charles I.

The chalice and paten which are now used in the parish church of Killeagh formerly belonged to the adjoining parish of Clonpriest. I am indebted to my kinsman, the Rev. W. T. C. Day, Rector, for entrusting these valuable pieces of Communion plate to my care, by which I was enabled to more carefully examine them and take impressions from their makers' stamps.

Both chalice and paten are remarkably fine examples of Youghal silversmiths' work. The chalice is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, supported on a circular foot  $4\frac{3}{8}$  inches diameter; the cup is straight-sided, 4 inches in depth, and  $4\frac{3}{8}$  inches wide at the lip, embossed with a spiral fluting 3 inches deep round the lower part, the base resting on an applied rose of five petals, the stem with fluted baluster knop and similarly decorated.

The paten corresponds in ornamentation with the chalice, which it fits as a cover. On both are eight makers' marks all alike, namely, the letter F below a lymphad in one stamp.

The following inscription is underneath the lip of the cup:—

“THE PARISH OF CLOYNE PRI<sup>EST</sup>, APR 4, 1702.”

Extending beyond it was a continuation of the legend which has for some cause been designedly erased. The paten is a very choice specimen

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<sup>1</sup> “Proceedings,” Society of Antiquaries, London, 2nd Ser., vol. xi., p. 388.

of Queen Anne silver. It stands on a spirally fluted foot, and has a similar border on its upper rim. The combined weight is 20 ounces 10 dwt. So far the maker's name has not been identified.

After the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, it was found necessary to group certain parishes in some of the sparsely populated districts. One of these unions was formed in the diocese of Cloyne, where Castlemartyr, Igtermurragh, and Kileredan were united, and now form the combined parish of Castlemartyr. Igtermurragh was in the centre of the three, flanked upon the west and south by Castlemartyr, and bordered on the north and east by Kileredan. It was soon apparent that the convenience of the parishioners would be best consulted by holding Divine Service in the two last-named, and to save the church of Igtermurragh from falling into ruin and from possible desecration, it was taken down, and its church plate handed over to the Rev. Canon Bolster, Rector of Castlemartyr, after which it was transferred to the parish church of Corkbeg. In 1886, through the kindness of Colonel Sir R. U. P. FitzGerald, Bart., I had an opportunity of examining the chalice and paten, and seeing for the first time an example of silver, with marks hitherto unpublished and unknown, which I was able to identify as Youghal local stamps. The cup is straight-sided,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, and 4 inches wide at the lip; underneath the bowl, and springing from a baluster-shaped stem, is an open rose resting on a circular foot  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter; it has in a scroll the inscription:—

“ The legacy of Mrs Mary  
Brelsford, who died y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> of  
Feby 1712, to the Church  
Of Igtermurrough.”

Under the rim are four marks, two are those of the maker E. G., and two the arms of Youghal, a lymphad in a shaped stamp. The initials are those of Edward Gillett, Goldsmith, who on the 23rd of February, 1711, was admitted free at large, on May 20, 1712, was sworn as such, and in 1721 was Mayor. The paten forms a cover for the chalice, and bears an inscription to the same effect; both weigh 19 oz. 11 dwt.

We have here an example of the Town Arms having been adopted by the Goldsmiths' Guild of Youghal as their authorised stamp on silver plate, just as in Cork during the seventeenth century, where its arms, the ship and castles, were used in the same way for a like purpose.

The only other examples of Youghal marked silver so far known are the flagon and patens (two) of St. Mary's Church, Youghal, and the chalice of the parish church of Killeagh, diocese of Cloyne. These and the Igtermurragh chalice the Rectors have most kindly promised to bring for your inspection, so that an opportunity may be thus afforded of examining the town marks and makers' stamps upon them. As it often happened, the local silversmiths omitted to stamp their work, and in this



respect the Youghal Guild were not an exception, as the chalice and paten of Ardmore parish church<sup>1</sup> are unmarked, so also is the Youghal inscribed chalice of the Franciscan<sup>2</sup> Order in Cork, and the Mace of Castlemartyr,<sup>3</sup> all of which, in all probability, were made in Youghal.

In this short Paper I have only been able to glance at some of the industries of this ancient town, without touching upon any of its historical memories and associations. It is unfortunate for the members of our Society that they have come in the absence of H. E. Sir Henry and Lady Blake, who would have given them a hearty welcome, and made their visit to the hospitable shelter of Myrtle Grove a long and happy memory. Those who will follow the course of the Blackwater to Lismore will find in the beauties of that romantic river the probable reasons why the poetical but thoroughly practical Raleigh settled at Youghal, where his memory is still green. He was Mayor of the town in the years 1588 and 1589 successively, William Magner being his Deputy. Cooke, under these dates, has the following note :—"Sir Walter Rawleigh, K<sup>t</sup>, a person of rare endowments, take him as a Statesman, Seaman, Soldier, or learned writer, being attainted of High Treason, and the sentence lay dormant 16 years, and he sent to Guinea 13 years after his Conviction. Yet he was beheaded in the great Court at Westminster the 29th October, 1618, his motto—

"TAM MARTI, QUAM MERCURIO."

Among the benefits that Youghal, and indeed the kingdom, inherited from Raleigh's connexion with it was the introduction of the potato, which he first planted in its congenial soil. Here also, under the yew-trees at Myrtle Grove, he smoked the pipe of peace, and linked his name with the introduction of tobacco.

Here the poet Spenser, and afterwards his widow, Elizabeth Seckerstone (*née* Boyle), lived in the old castle of Kilcoran, which overlooks the bay; and here, in the "Amoretti," sonnet 75, Spenser writes :—"One day I wrote her name upon the strand"<sup>4</sup>—possibly on what has continued to be known as the "name rock" upon the beach, so called because of the custom of cutting lovers' names and "poeseys" upon it.

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<sup>1</sup> "Journal" of the Cork Hist. and Arch. Assoc., vol. v., p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> Smith's "Cork," vol. i., p. 197. (Guy & Co.)

<sup>4</sup> "Lismore Papers," vol. i., p. 18.

THE BURGH OR "VILLE" OF YOUGHAL.<sup>1</sup>

EARLY in the thirteenth century Youghal was already a *walled town*; but, doubtless, long previous to that period this burgh was enclosed by defensive bulwarks, such as a fosse or ditch, with palisading of pointed stakes or "*chevaux-de-Frise*," with some sort of a stone wall behind them. Such defensive works were usually constructed when places on the coast were occupied by the original Norse invaders, as well as by the Normans.



THE TOWN WALL, YOUGHAL.

If the lower courses of the masonry in the Youghal walls be closely examined, it will be seen that they are built in a different manner from the upper parts of the same wall. I consider that all this lower portion dates from the Scandinavian period; in their configuration these walls closely follow the "*demi-lune*" entrenchments of the Viking settlement. We have no documentary evidence as to the "*murage*" or walling of the town earlier than the thirteenth century, when a grant was given in the

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. M. J. C. Buckley, *Hon. Local Secretary for East Cork*.

third year of the reign of Edward I., A.D. 1275, to the burghers of Youghal, for the levying of "customs" or taxes on various articles of merchandise, in order to enable them to surround their "ville" or town (Celtic "*dun*") with defensive walls; it is of interest to note that amongst the articles enumerated as subject to these customs, are wine, salt, tanned and untanned hides, fleeces, badger, rabbit, squirrel, or goat skins, Cordovan leather, millstones, tar and pitch, lead, bundles of cloth, linen and canvas, woods for dyeing same, &c., &c. In 1358 we find that Edward III. granted another permit to levy the same taxes for the repair of the walls; also in the times of Richard II., 1380-1394; Henry IV., 1404; Henry V., 1414-15, and in all the succeeding reigns up to the period of James I.

#### THE GATES.

On the southern side of the walls, extending from the present Clock Gate to Windmill-lane, was an enclosure, which surrounded what was called the "base town," which was ordered, by the charter of Edward IV., in 1462, to be allotted to the native Irish inhabitants; this wall was pierced by the south gate, and all ingress was jealously guarded after a certain fixed hour in the evening. There were originally five gates in these walls, which were the North Gate, the South Gate, the Trinity Castle, or the Iron Gate (now called the Clock Gate), the Quay Gate, and the Water Gate. Until the year 1592 the room over the North Gate was the Hall of the Guilds. This old gate was entirely removed in 1777, and the South Gate was also removed in the same year.

The Water Gate, which still exists at the lower end of Quay-lane, was preserved and restored in the early years of the last century, thanks to the intelligent zeal of Mr. Thomas Harvey, a merchant of Youghal. A desperate struggle took place inside this gate, after the sack of the town in 1595, by the insurgent Earl of Desmond, of which a very graphic account is given in a contemporaneous letter now in the State Paper Office, London, as well as a notice in the "Annals of the Four Masters."<sup>1</sup> The Iron Gate, now the "Clock Gate," was replaced by the present structure in 1777, and was built under the direction of Wm. Mead, architect; it is in the "Palladian" style of architecture, its total height, to the top of the cupola, being 90 feet. This gate was used as a town prison until 1837.<sup>2</sup> The ancient Commercial

<sup>1</sup> Tradition assigns this spot as the place of embarkment of Cromwell when he left Ireland for ever, on the 26th May, 1650.

<sup>2</sup> There is a wood-block engraving of the ancient iron gate in the quaintly-written account of Youghal by Thomas Dineley, in the year 1681. This shows a castellated edifice, square in plan, with angle-turrets, pierced by narrow apes. The archway is pointed, and a small niche appears above it, exactly as we see in the ancient gateways of Bruges, Mechlin, and elsewhere on the Continent. On either side of this arch are large grated openings, evidently the windows of the town gaol. In the upper storey is the dial of the public clock, and immediately over this is a domed turret, surmounted by a wrought-iron girouette. This turret occupies the same position as the modern bell-cupola. A small circular turret, with a conical roof, and a square-headed doorway, stands at the left-hand side, just by the present gaol steps.



Exchange<sup>1</sup> stood on the quay, outside the Quay gate, but of it not a trace remains.

#### THE TOWERS.

Along the walls at intervals were thirteen castles or towers; of these towers there are still remaining, a "half-moon" tower, fairly well preserved, on the western wall of the present College Park (this edifice is shown in the two illustrations, pp. 307, 326); another "lunette" of a similar type (occupied formerly as an Astronomical Observatory by the late Dr. Harvey, who composed therein for many years an almanac called "The Youghal Nautical Almanack," now obsolete) has been restored by me when repairing the walls round Montmorenci; and at the south-west angle are the remains of the legendary "Banshee" tower, about which many stories used to be told. All traces of Nott's and Rath's Castles have disappeared. Doorways led from all these towers to the "chemin de ronde," or "Archer's Walk," as it is called, by which the Town Guard, in troublous times, patrolled, in their various companies,<sup>2</sup> the precincts of the stout old burgh.

#### REMARKABLE HOUSES.

Of several fortified castellated houses inside the town we have but one specimen still existing, which is called Tynte's Castle; it is very similar in structure to the towers still remaining at Thurles, Cashel, Drogheda, Kilmallock, and elsewhere. It was erected in the fifteenth century by the Anglo-Norman family of Walshe, by whose name it was called, until the forfeiture of their estates in 1584. It was then leased for ever by the Corporation to Sir Robert Tynte (of Somerset origin), of Kilcredan. It shows a striking example of the care bestowed by its old Norman

<sup>1</sup> There are two very interesting views of the Exchange, as well as of the Pier and its fort, along with the walled town, given by Thomas Dineley in his account of Youghal in 1681. In these views the Exchange is shown as a building of the same type as the "Bourses" in several of the Flemish and Hanseatic towns. The Youghal edifice is represented as having four circular arcades, with wide mullioned windows over them, and dormer windows in the roof. A tower, terminated by a domed cupola (which appears to be covered with copper scales), stands in the centre of the façade. The gables are very lofty, and are surmounted, as well as the cupola, by wrought-iron vanes. On the south side of the Exchange is seen the fortified water-gate, immediately over which, in the distance, is shown the windmill, which formerly stood at the top of Windmill-lane.

<sup>2</sup> These companies of "Town Guards" were formed in almost the same manner as the "commandoes" were brought together in the South African war, each townsman or "burgher" being obliged to turn out, with his arms (consisting of a sword, an "arquebus" or gun, and some rounds of ammunition in a bandolier; or a pike or "halbard," and a sword only), on the alarm being given by the "Town Drummer." The companies were drilled and inspected in the presence of the Mayor or his adjutants. Absence from these quarterly inspections and drillings was punishable by fines and admonitions. At various distances along the walls are small redoubts or "bastilles," projecting slightly (five or six inches) beyond the face of the wall. These redoubts were intended as resting-places for the men off guard; they were roofed, and provided with wooden forms or settles, for the accommodation of the watchers of the town.

possessors to hold their own dwelling-places, "*par la main forte et dure*," even in the midst of a walled town. Its total height is about fifty feet. The ancient entrance was on the south side, as we can see by the projecting hood of the machicolation in the upper storey, which was used for giving a "warm reception" to unwelcome visitors, in the shape of red-hot sand, molten lead, heavy stones, arrows, and such-like "*douceurs*." The first floor, which is approached by a steeply inclined plane, was of timber, the oaken joists resting on stone corbels, as in the church tower of St. Mary's (as we also see in the castles of Kilnatoora, Templemichael, and others). The principal apartment is vaulted in stone, and must have been comfortably and even handsomely furnished, as we see traces of stuccoed cornices still remaining. Doubtless this room was lined with oak panelling similar to what we have found round the principal apartments of Roth's House in Kilkenny, and which still exists in the rooms of the Manor Castle of Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Waterford. The windows to the street are modern. The ancient apertures, however, seem to have occupied the same place, and, from the outside of the castle, must have been wide and open, with stone mullions and heavy labels of the fifteenth century. In the south wall are the original windows, now built up. Continuing the ascent, the stairs are lighted by two lancet-windows, at different heights, which lead us to the upper floor, which was fire-proof, being the stone-arched covering of the dining-room. The sleeping rooms and "*garde-robe*" are in the east side of the castle, with a circular staircase leading to them, constructed in the thickness of the wall. From its position on the waterside, this castellated house served as a defensive outwork to the weak and rather unprotected sea-wall, of which some traces still exist behind the houses abutting on the present Grattan-street, which, as well as the store-houses and quays, are all built on reclaimed slob-land. In the records of the town during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we find many urban enactments were made regarding such reclamations.

Nearly opposite this antique fortified mansion, which was so strongly guarded against sudden attacks in wild and lawless times, we see a very quaint and interesting specimen of the domestic architecture of the early eighteenth century. This is the large and substantially-built dwelling, known as "*The Red House*," which was built by one of the "*Uniacke*" family, between the years 1706-15, from the plans and under the superintendence of a Dutch builder named Leuventhen. It is a fine example of the domestic architecture of the Netherlands at that period; with its Dutch Renaissance details, its wide doorway and portico approached by a flight of steps, and its tall windows, it forms a striking contrast to the gloomy, semi-fortress house on the other side of the street. The whole of this edifice is built of red bricks, which are, most probably, of Dutch origin, as it is doubtful whether brick kilns had been established in Youghal at this period. I may here remark that similar brickwork in houses of this date can still be seen in some of the

older parts of towns and cities in the New England States, in the narrow streets of Manhattan Island, New York, formerly called New Amsterdam. The interior of this antique Dutch residence is panelled in memel pine-wood, which is still in good preservation. The old bridge across the Blackwater was built of the same wood.

Beyond the Red House in the North Main-street is a very picturesque group of old alms-houses, which, with their gables and low-arched doorways, add an interest to the street, that is entirely wanting in our modern thoroughfares. These alms-houses, as well as the grammar-school, were founded by the Earl of Cork about 1620. A very fine roof, of hammer-beam construction, still exists in the ancient school-house close by. This roof is well worthy of careful cleaning and preservation. Unfortunately all the windows, doorways, and the interior arrangements have been entirely altered and spoiled by successive changes, introduced by its various inhabitants. The greater number of the houses in the Main-street are old, dating mostly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of them still retain their ancient chimney-shafts of stone, of large size; but the fronts have all been modernised. One may still observe, however, that a large number of these old houses are built on a "skew" plan to the street (as was very often the case in mediæval towns), so as to allow of small "espions," or spy-windows, being made in their projecting angles, which are mostly towards the south-east. Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century the timber used in these dwellings, for joists, floorings, doors, etc., was oak, of which there was an abundance to be got in the great woods that extended from Youghal, along the banks of the Blackwater, up to the valley of Lismore and beyond. Even in the days of Sir Walter Raleigh we learn that there were some thousands of oak-trees to be found in the woods around Youghal, which he mentions as being fit and suitable for the service of the Royal Navy, in Elizabethan days.

#### THE FRANCISCAN FRIARY, YOUGHAL.

This was the earliest foundation in Ireland of the Order of St. Francis. Thomas, the second son of the founder, completed the building at his own expense, and dying 26th May, 1260, was here interred. Several other noblemen of the house of Desmond were also buried here, viz. John, 3rd Earl of Desmond, in 1369; John, 5th Earl, in 1399; James, 7th Earl, in 1462; James, 9th Earl, in 1487; Maurice, only son of Thomas, 12th Earl, in 1529; Thomas, 12th Earl, in 1534; James, 14th Earl, in 1540; and Sir Thomas Ruadh Fitzgerald, in 1595. Wadding informs us that many religious men were interred within the walls. Provincial chapters of the Order were held here in 1300, 1312, and 1331.

The Franciscan Friary, as we have seen, derived its name of "The South Abbey" from its local position. At the opposite end of the town,



a little outside the walls, was founded by another member of the Geraldine Family :—

THE DOMINICAN FRIARY, COMMONLY CALLED THE NORTH ABBEY.

1268.—Thomas Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, surnamed n'appagh, "Simiacus," or "the Ape," founded a Friary for Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, at Youghal. This House was at first placed under the Invocation of the Holy Cross (S. Crux), perhaps on account of the Family Arms of the Founder; but it was subsequently dedicated to St. Mary of Thanks (S. Maria Gratiarum), on account of a miraculous image of the B. Virgin preserved here (Bourke's "Hib. Dom.," p. 272). This ivory image is now in the Dominican Priory in Cork. A copy of it, in marble, is in the "Frontale" of the altar of the Catholic Church in Youghal.

1281–1304.—General Chapters of the Order were held.

1296.—The Founder was here interred in the middle of the Choir (Grace).

1303.—22nd Oct. Robert de Percival, an eminent benefactor to this house, having been slain in a battle with the Irish, was interred here (Lodge).

1493.—This Friary was reformed by Bartholomew Comatius (Bononiensis), 33rd Master of the Order ("Hib. Dom." pp. 76, 273, 518).

1581.—28th April. This Friary, with six gardens within the liberties of Youghal (the tithes excepted), was granted for ever, *in capite*, to William Walsh, at the yearly rent of 22 pence sterling. From him it passed, after a term of years, to John Thickpenny, gent. ("Hib. Dom.," p. 273).

1585–86.—3rd February. The Friary was granted to Sir Walter Raleigh, at an annual rent of £12 19s. 6d.

1602.—7th December. Sir Walter Raleigh conveyed all his Irish grants, including this Friary, to Mr. R. Boyle.

1604.—31st March. By an Inquisition taken this day at Cork it was found that Sir Walter Raleigh, lately attainted of high treason, was seized in fee (among others) of the Priory, or House of Friars Observant, near Youghal, called "the Black ffreers, neere Youghal, with appurtenances, together with its seite, circuit, ambite, and precinet, etc., and its other possessions and hereditaments, spiritual and temporal."

1604.—10th May. The Priory, or late House of Observant Friars, near Youghal, called the "Black Friars," of Youghal, with all their possessions, spiritual and temporal, was granted by the King to Sir Richard Boyle. (Calendar of Patent Rolls.)

1617.—The Lady Honor Fitzgerald, of the Geraldine family, presented the Dominicans of Youghal with a silver-gilt shrine for the image of the Madonna in their possession. This reliquary is about 4 inches in

height, by about 2 inches in width. Its sides are richly chased with floriated ornaments, and its summit is surmounted by a cross. It opens with two folding-doors (as a "trptych"), which, thrown back, display the statue within. The reverses of these doors bear the Crucifixion, and a figure of a saint in prayer, respectively. On the outside is this inscription in Roman letter:—"Orate . pro . anima . onoriae . filiae . Jacobi . de . Geraldinis . quæ . me . fieri . fecit . Anno Dni . 1617."

1632.—The tenants of the Friary were exempted from taxes or quartering soldiers.

1632.—In the Dominican House of St. Mary's of the Isle, Cork, is preserved a handsome silver chalice, as well as a Monstrance, which formerly belonging to this Friary. The chalice bears this inscription:—"Pertinet ad conventum Deiparae Gratiarum de Yeoghall, 1632."

1698.—1st May. An Act having been passed which commanded the departure of all monastic orders out of Ireland, never to return "*on pain of death*," the Dominicans of Youghal were constrained to leave; and they deposited their Madonna Shrine with Sir John Hare, of Shandon Castle, County Waterford.<sup>1</sup>

Several remains of stone coffin-lids of the usual tapered form, covered with "fleur-de-luce" crosses, and bearing traces of Norman-French inscriptions, were found here from time to time during the last century, as well as two full-length freestone effigies of knights in armour. One of these effigies was found in 1857, and a description of it by the late Mr. Edward Fitzgerald is given at page 287, vol. iv., of the *Kilkenny Archæological Society's Journal*. There is a legend amongst the people, that the bell of this antique Friary is buried in the angle of the ruined thirteenth-century chancel-pier; the same story is told of the five bells formerly in the tower of St. Mary's, which are said to be buried either in the churchyard, or in the garden of Myrtle Grove. A similar tradition was proved to be true, in a most remarkable manner, to the writer's own knowledge, in the case of the discovery of two splendid "silver-metal" bells within the ruined church of Boulick, near Thurles, County Tipperary (a sort of Irish Baalbee), a few years ago. These bells, one belonging to the ninth-century period, and the other to the fourteenth, are now deposited in the Archbishop's residence at Thurles, County Tipperary.

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<sup>1</sup> Many further notices of this Abbey and its miraculous statue will be found in the Rev. Ambrose Coleman's Notes (p. 51), to his reprint of O'Heyn's *Irish Dominicans*, 1902.

NOTES ON ST. MARY'S CHURCH. YOUGHAL.<sup>1</sup>

THE Church of St. Mary, of Youghal, although much injured and badly restored, can still be classed amongst the most interesting and beautiful edifices of its kind remaining in Ireland. The present edifice, built at various periods, occupies a site devoted to religious worship during many centuries, even before the advent of the Normans in this land. The first missionary of Christianity here was St. Declan, of Ardmore, who, with St. Carthagh of Lismore, St. Caineach of Kilkenny, St. Ailbe of Emly, and others, were predecessors of St. Patrick.

Doubtless a small "Daimh-liag," or stone-built oratory, such as we still see at Ardmore (now called "St. Declan's grave"), was erected on the spot where St. Mary's Church stands. In those early days a sombre green yew-wood<sup>2</sup> covered the side of the hill on which the town is built, and surrounded the precincts of this primitive oratory. It is very likely that early Pagan rites were previously celebrated in the same place, for in many instances the Christian missionaries chose such spots as had been "consecrated" in the minds of the people for countless ages before their arrival, and dedicated them to Christian worship, just as they consecrated so many of the "Dolmen" and "Gallaun" raised stones, by blessing, and incising the Sign of the Cross on their sides.

As population increased, and the Celto-Danish town began gradually to acquire the rights and privileges of a trading burgh, this church had to be rebuilt and increased in size about the middle of the eleventh century. Many interesting fragments of this Hiberno-Romanesque edifice are still remaining, incorporated with the walls of the later building.

There is a very delicately-moulded semicircular arch, resting on two low columns, with "turned" capitals and bases, existing in the wall of the aisle of the northern transept; this arch evidently surmounted a sepulchral slab. High above the present chancel-arch, on either side of the gable through which this arch was pierced (early in the thirteenth century), are still seen two open round-headed windows, which belong to the earlier church, as the wall itself was the eastern end of the same building. These windows must have been immediately over the roof of the earlier chancel, just as similar apertures are placed over the chancel roof of Cormac's Chapel in Cashel, for the earlier chancel stood on the

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. M. J. C. Buckley.

<sup>2</sup> "Eo-Caille, or Youghal, means "the yew-wood."



same site as the present choir, although it was most probably much shorter. The circular ope, with its decorated tracery, which is between these two windows, is of later date, as far as the tracery is concerned. The key-stones of semicircular arches still exist in the walls of the west gable, as well as in that of the north transept aisle. This latter arch belonged to the northern porch of the earlier church, which portal was rebuilt and enlarged in the course of the fourteenth century, as can be seen by the fragments of well-wrought door-mouldings, and polished limestone *colonnettes*, lately found in digging inside, under the foundation of the south wall of the tower; this wall traverses the site of the northern porch, thus proving that the thickening of the walls of the tower was carried out at a much later date, probably about 1450, so as to adapt the tower to the purposes of military defence, as is shown by its deeply recessed narrow "slit" windows (on the ground-floor), splayed widely outwards, so as to afford an extensive range for shooting. There are also remaining several of the tapered stone cross-slabs, which were formerly placed over sepulchres in the earlier church; many of these incised slabs, with chamfered edges, bearing "Lombardic" lettering, were found, during excavations, to have been used by the builders of the thirteenth century as foundations for the piers of the nave and other parts.

The present edifice of St. Mary's was largely re-built about the year 1220, in what is called the Early English style. The form of the church is that of a Latin cross, and consists of a nave with aisles, a north transept, with aisle at the west side, a south transept, formerly called the "Chantry of our Blessed Saviour" (now the Cork chapel), the choir or chancel, and the tower in the angle of the north aisle and transept.<sup>1</sup> There formerly existed the following portions of this building, which have been ruthlessly demolished, namely, the vestry or "sacristy," two chantries, a circular stair tower in the west gable, and the north and south porches to the aisles. This fine edifice replaced the earlier church, which, having been dismantled in the great tempest of 1192, became ruinous and decayed. According to ancient tradition, the founders of the new church were Richard Benet, a knight of Glamorgan, in Wales, who accompanied Strongbow in his expedition, and his wife, Ellice Barry, who most probably belonged to the family of that name at Buttevant, County Cork. The building of such a large place of worship at that period shows that the population of the town must have increased very much during the preceding centuries. The south transept was chosen by the founders as their burial-place. Their tomb existed on the right-hand side of the altar, which stood in this transept or "chantry," until the year 1579, when it was destroyed by the insurgent Earl of Desmond.

<sup>1</sup> Total length of nave and chancel, 189 feet; breadth across the transepts, 110 feet 3 inches; width of nave and aisles, 60 feet 3 inches.

From a fragment found some years ago, the monument must have been similar to the sepulchral arch and effigy of Thomas Paris in the northern aisle, and that of Mathew the Mercer in the southern, which are both of the same period (*circa* 1200). From this date on to the year 1350 no great structural changes seem to have been made in the church.

About the middle of the fourteenth century extensive additions were made to St. Mary's. A new chancel was built; the gables of the aisles as well as their side-walls were raised up, and pierced with new windows, rendering them loftier. The new buildings were designed in the style which is called "Decorated." A finely-moulded pointed doorway, with polished marble shafts (of the same type as the fragments of stonework recently found under the tower), was inserted into the western gable wall (or façade); the three-light window, in the same gable, as well as the pointed windows of the aisles, were inserted at this time. Several interesting monuments also were erected inside the church during this century; amongst them are two effigies of burghers of the town, resting on their coffin-slabs. These effigies are each covered by a recessed arch, richly moulded in both cases, and resting on two columns with capitals and bases: the labels, or hood-moulds, ending in carved "head" bosses. One of these effigies lies near the junction of the north aisle and transept, close by the quaint "flying buttress" arch, which spans the aisle diagonally; a very clever and uncommon treatment of a "waterway," as well as a support to the upper portion of the nave wall. The effigy which is in this recess represents the recumbent figure of a man, who is clad in a loose tunic (a "gabardine") or "surcoat" of cloth, quite plain, and unornamented; his feet, shod with pointed shoes, rest on a dog of the kind called a "Talbot." He holds a bird, a ger-falcon, in one hand, thus denoting his belonging to the class of the gentry having the rights of chase, &c., according to the Norman code of "Forest Laws." We are informed by the chronicler, Dineley, in his "tour" of 1681, that this is the effigy of Thomas Paris, an inhabitant of Youghal, who gained great privileges for the town, and thus obtained the honour of such an interment in his parish church. No memorials exist concerning this family of "Paris," except a short rescript in the Memoranda Rolls of Edward II. in 1333, directing payment to be made to a certain "Edith Parys, of le Youghall, for two crannocks of salt." The other effigy, also placed under a recessed arch, is at the west end of the south aisle. The costume of the figure closely resembles that of the "Paris" effigy, as he wears the "gabardine," which was the usual "civil" dress of the period (*circa* 1300), as distinct from the military "undress" costume. The heads of both the figures rest upon cushions, one of which is placed transversely over the other in this carving. The feet of this figure rest upon the back of a lion, which was an ordinary adjunct of such tombs in numberless instances for many centuries. The "coiffure" of the hair is like a curled peruke—a fashion which prevailed during the reigns of Edward II. and

Edward III. ; as an emblem of his trade, for he belonged to the Guild of "Gantiers" or "Glovers" (these trades were included under the general name of "mercerie"), he holds a glove, or "gauntlet," in his left hand ; thus showing that being a Freeman of a Guild in Youghal, he had a certain social *status* of petty nobility, entitling him to certain privileges. On the chamfered edge of the tomb-slab on which the effigy lies, the following inscription, in Norman-French or Lombardic letters, is still discernible :—

"(Ma)theu : le : mercer : git : ici : celi : ke : prie : por : le :  
alme : . . . . . jours : de : perdo(n).

"Mathew the Mercer lies here ; he who prays for the soul (shall have) . . . . . days of pardon."

This effigy has been erroneously described as being that of the famous old Countess Catherine, of Desmond, who died in the reign of James I., about 1620. Several early Norman-French stone coffin-lids have been deposited within the Cork chapel ; some are quite plain, whilst others have "*fleur-de-lys*" crosses carved along their roof-ridges ; a few bear inscriptions cut on their chamfered edges. One stone is carved on its upper surface with a human head in high relief, surmounting a cross fleury. The following inscription still exists on three sides of its slab :—  
"Alun : git : ici : Deu : del : alme : eit : mei." "Alun lies here ; God on his soul have mercy." Another slab bears these words :—

† Roger : Deivil : G . . .

"Roger Deivil (lies here)." He was one of Strongbow's companions.

The nave of St. Mary's, as it is at present, appears to have been erected about the middle of the thirteenth century, judging from the form of the six pointed arches on each side ; these arches, which are simply chamfered on their edges, without any mouldings whatever, rest upon plain square piers, and are very massive and severe in effect.

At the eastern end of the nave there stood a magnificent "Rood-screen," to which access was gained, by two newel-stairs, on the north and south sides, of which stairs one only (that on the south side) still remains open, its lower steps having been taken away, and the entrance to the northern stairway closed up, during the "vandalic" restorations of recent years. We know from the curt remarks of the tourist Dineley in 1681 that this screen was richly gilt and painted in its panels and carved work. Similar Rood-lofts exist in a great many English churches, especially in Devon, Somerset, Norfolk, and Cornwall ; many of these beautiful screens have been most carefully and artistically restored during the past few years. On this screen stood the Rood or "floriated" Crucifix.



We are told in the records of St. Mary's that the upper panels of the Rood screen, which bore "subject" paintings on their surfaces, were ordered to be daubed over, and the "arms" of the twelve tribes of Israel to be inscribed thereon! The ancient font, carved in freestone, of the "Decorated" style of the end of the fourteenth century, was moved from its ancient position at the western end of the nave to the place it now occupies near the old "Rood" stairs at the south side of the chancel-arch, during the "restorations" of recent years, thus destroying altogether the symbolical meaning attached to all baptismal fonts throughout Christendom, in being placed near the western porch or entrance to parish churches. This font is octagonal in shape, and is supported on four moulded columns terminating in depressed "ogee" arches, their spandrils being carved with vine-leaves; a central pillar of larger size upholds the ribbing of pointed arches, thus forming an elaborate groining on a small scale; this central pillar is pierced by an "aqueduct" aperture to allow the baptismal water to flow into the earth beneath, as we find in all such mediæval fonts. There is a font, precisely similar to this one, but without the supporting pillars (which are now missing), standing in the centre of the nave of the present Protestant Church at Ardmore. Over the font, in St. Mary's, is an "ogee"-shaped cover of oak, with rudely crocketed ribs, forming a dome-like canopy, surmounted by the gilt figure of a dove, the emblem of the Paraclete; this cover appears to be of the Charles II. period. The floor, now existing, round the font, in its present position, is formed, in great part, of antique tiles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of which a large number were found when the ruined chancel was cleared of trees, weeds, graves, and their attendant headstones and monuments.

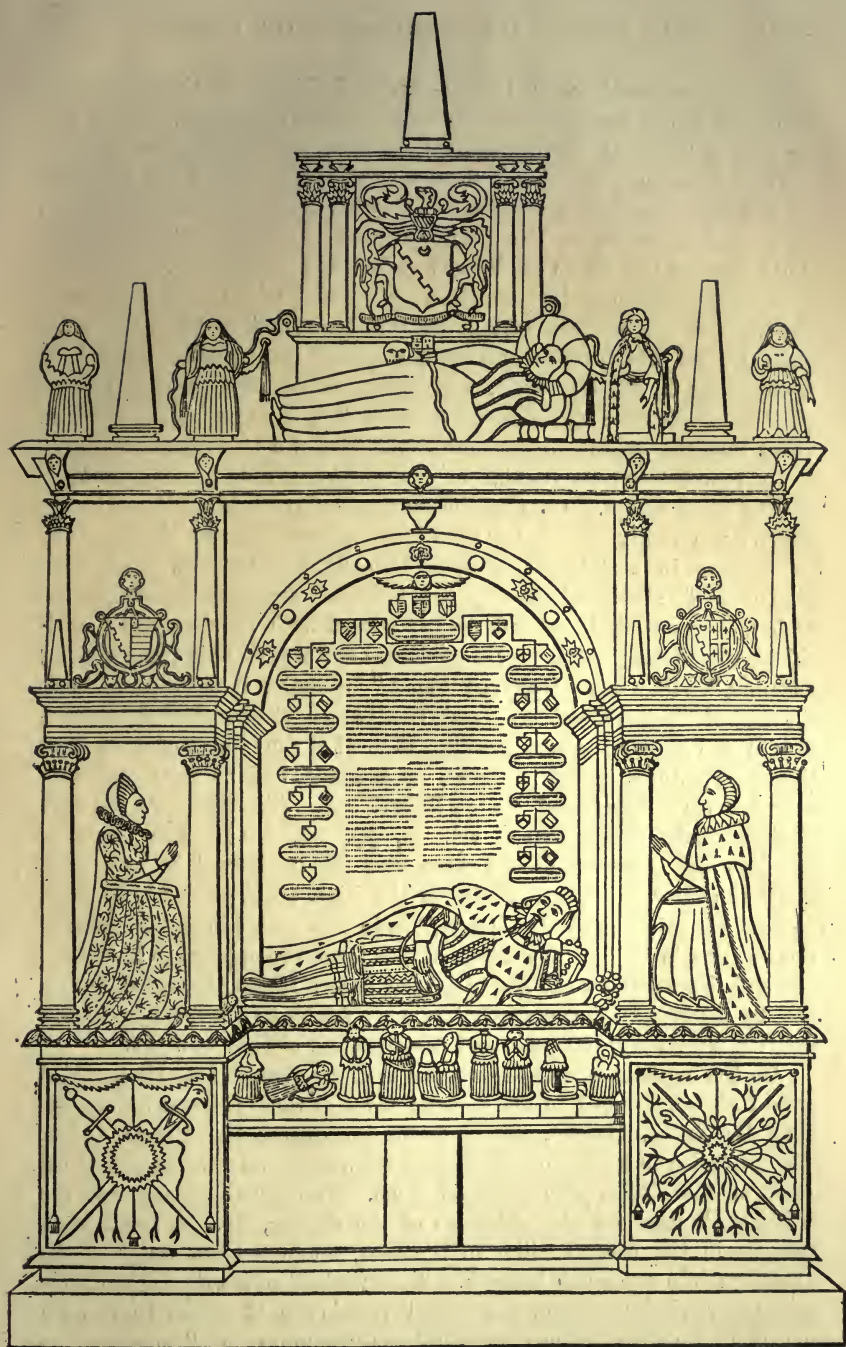
At the left-hand side of the western doorway, on entering the nave, is seen the low-pointed arched door, which gave access to the stairs that existed in the circular turret, which formerly stood against the wall of the western façade, and which led up to the narrow stone-paved passage which was all round the nave roof along the drip-table or stone "wall-plate" of its clerestory on either side. This turret was roofed with a conical stone cap, and the doorway opened on the level of the drip-table. A similar turret existed at the junction of the north transept with the chancel. This turret not only gave access to the roof, but was used for the ringing of the "Sanctus" bell. These turrets were ruthlessly swept away, and all traces of them obliterated, during the miscalled "restorations" of 1853 and 1858, thus depriving the edifice of some of its most interesting and essential features. At the same time that these modern changes were effected the ancient divisions of the nave and aisle roofs were obliterated, and a vast ugly expanse of blue Welsh slating, without a single trace of golden lichen or grey moss to tone down its crudeness, was substituted by the "restorers" in 1853, giving a

barn-like air to the nave and its two aisles thus hidden beneath this very monotonous covering. The levels of the ancient lean-to roofs of the aisles, as well as the faint outlines of the circular stair turret, are still visible in the masonry of the western wall of the nave. The two western doorways of the aisles were built up and windows inserted in their places; and the picturesque north and south porches were also pulled down, by Act of the Vestry, in the year 1791.

But it is the chancel or choir of St. Mary's which is the most deserving of attention by all lovers of beautiful buildings and amateurs of refined architecture of mediæval type. This chancel is the latest portion of the church, having been built about 1468 by Thomas Fitzgerald, eighth Earl of Desmond, aided by a donation, given for this purpose, by Pope Paul II. Both externally and inside this choir is a very fine specimen of the skill of the builders of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the mouldings of its base, which run round the buttresses, the lofty gable, with boldly carved foliage crockets, formerly surmounted by a floriated finial cross (now broken), with the two spirelet pinnacles at the angles, and the grandly designed eastern window, with its flamboyant tracery, which has survived all the attacks of wars and bad taste for many centuries, render this chancel one of the most remarkable in Ireland. This beautiful structure, although raised and adorned through the pious zeal of one Earl of Desmond, was utterly ruined and despoiled during the rebellion of Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, in December, 1579.

During the occupation of Youghal, after having made several breaches in the walls, the soldiers of the rebellious Earl plundered and sacked the town for five days. According to "the Annals of the Four Masters," they desecrated St. Mary's Church, robbed all the vestments and plate, which they found in the north sacristy (now demolished), injured the south transept, and defaced the tomb of the founders. The choir, with the vestry attached to it, and the two chantry chapels (of our Blessed Saviour and of the Portingall family) were unroofed and made desolate; horses and cows were stabled (it is said) within the chancel, and the two chapels, both by the insurgent soldiery of Desmond (who, we are told by an ancient author, were rebuked for their sacrilegious conduct by some Spaniards who accompanied them), but also by some of the townspeople in revolt. The noble chancel, roofless and ruined, remained for upwards of 270 years uncared for, a miserable wilderness of weeds, bushes, and trees, which grew up inside this once beautiful sanctuary. However, thanks to the intelligent interest shown by the Rector, the Rev. Pierce William Drew, in 1852, aided by generous contributions, the chancel was roofed in, the windows glazed, and the floor re-laid and re-tiled, thus rescuing this architectural "bijou" from total destruction. Before concluding these notes, attention must be called to the following objects in the choir. The





THE EARL OF CORK'S MONUMENT, ST. MARY'S CHURCH, YOUGHAL.  
 (See the *Journal of the Society*, vol. vii., p. 328, 1862-63.)



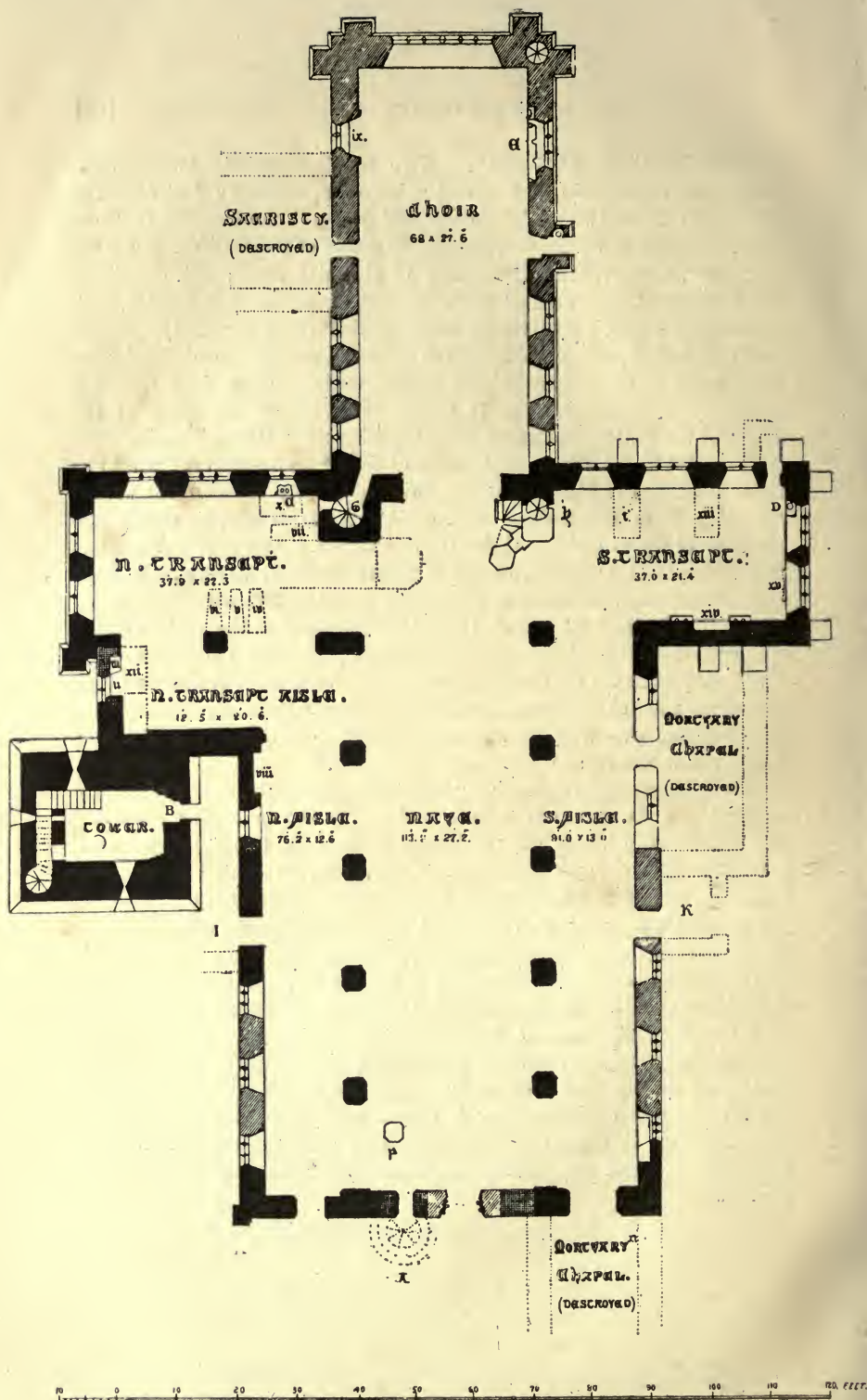
great eastern window, in its tracery, is decidedly of the flamboyant type, and shows foreign (most probably Flemish) influence, which may be due, perhaps, to the commercial relations existing in the fifteenth century between Youghal and Bruges (Flanders). With the exception of the magnificent east window in Kilcooley Abbey, County Tipperary, this window ranks as the finest specimen of "tracery" in Ireland. Judging from the traces of designs etched and stained upon numerous fragments of antique glass, which were found buried in the soil outside the walls of the chancel during the "restoration" of 1851-1858, the stained glass which formerly filled the opes of this window must have been of much artistic merit, and quite unlike the present hideous jumble of heraldic devices, more resembling a huge kaleidoscope in effect than the window of the most sacred part of a Christian sanctuary.

A remarkable altar-tomb, in the northern wall of the choir, is worthy of attention. It is in the perpendicular style of the fifteenth century; a richly moulded "ogee" arch, crocketed to the top, and terminating in a finial, rests upon two light buttresses, with spire pinnacles. The base and recess of the "mensa" are panelled with trefoil arches, their spandrels being delicately carved with foliage. On a small shield, in the apex of the curved gable, are the words "*hic jacet Thomas Fleming*," with a small engraved "knot" beneath; it is supposed to be the tomb of Thomas Fleming, seventh Lord Slane. This recessed altar-tomb, as well as a similar one, in the roofless chancel of the Church of New Ross (like many others in this country, in England, and on the Continent), served as the "Sepulchre" during Holy Week. (See Bloxam's "*Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*," vol. ii., pp. 98, etc.) The tombs of founders and generous donors were very often allowed to be erected inside the choir, in close proximity to the high altar, so that they could be used for this "laudable custom," as it was called in the Articles of Convocation in 1536. The whole of this structure appears to have been gilt and decorated in colours in former days: traces of painted figures can be discerned on the arcaded panels; for stone carvings in such a position were never left plain and bare-looking, as they now are.

On the opposite side of the chancel are four very elaborately moulded arched niches, grouped in one design; three of these recesses formed the seats for Priest, Deacon, and Sub-Deacon during the Divine Office. The gradation in height of these seats shows the relative ecclesiastical rank of the clerics who occupied them. The fourth arcade was the "Piscina," used for the ablutions of the chalice, etc. A small aperture, as in the central pillar of the font, conducted the water of the ablutions into the earth beneath. A stone shelf across the back of this recess served for resting the sacred vessels on it before they were placed on the altar. The present hideous "canopy-work" surmounting the four niches, as well as the rudely sculptured arcading on the eastern wall, under the great window, were all put up during the

“restorations” of 1851-1858. Two boldly-moulded stone corbels project on either side of the east window at about 12 feet from the pavement; these two corbels supported statues, most probably those of St. Patrick and St. Declan, the patron saints of the district. There are no traces whatsoever now remaining of the high altar; but, doubtless, this altar must have been of stone, backed by an arcaded reredos. A remarkable acoustic contrivance exists in this chancel, namely, several jugs of Youghal pottery ware (such as are used nowadays), embedded up to their mouths, at various heights in the walls. These jugs caused a re-percussion of sound, so as to add considerably to the effect of the voices of the Collegiate Canons when chanting the “Offices” which were daily recited in the choir. Specimens of such “sound-bearers” are to be found in other churches and public buildings. The recessed and arched “Piscinas” in the eastern wall of the north transept indicate the positions of the two altars of the Guild Chapels. There were five altars in St. Mary’s at the close of the fifteenth century, namely, the high altar in the choir, the altar in the chapel of “Our Blessed Saviour” on the south side (now the “Cork Chapel”), the altar at the western end of the south aisle (called the Portingall Chapel), and the two altars of the Guild chapels in the northern transept. The “College” of Canons which served in this church was composed of five “Chauntry” chaplains, one of whom was Warden, and resided in the old house (the Warden’s Lodge), now known as “Sir Walter Raleigh’s.”

The chancel still retains its “embattled” parapets, such as formerly stood outside the eaves of the nave roof before the ignorant “restorer” had covered it in (as well as the lean-to roofs of the two aisles) with the present hideous expanse of slating. Quaint rough “spout” gargoyles of limestone served to discharge the rain-water, melted snow, etc., from off the stone flagging or “wall plate,” the access to which was gained by the choir turret now demolished. A most delightfully designed “Priest’s Door” opened in the sturdy buttress of the southern wall of the chancel; a richly moulded pointed doorway, with drip-hood, resting on two bosses (one of which represents a Tudor rose), leads into the choir; a much-defaced stoup (for holy water), terminating in a seraph’s head beneath, still exists in the east side of its deeply-recessed wall. Immediately opposite to this choir doorway is seen a low-arched narrow entrance, now closed up, in the old College wall. This was evidently the entrance to the College, and was used by the Canons for ingress and egress to the church.



PLAN OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, YOUGHAL.  
(See the Society's *Journal*, vol. iii., p. 103, 1854-55.)



## ST. MARY'S CHURCH, YOUGHAL.

## REFERENCES TO THE DETAILS OF PLAN.

Hiberno-Norman,	. . . . .	<i>Cross-hatched.</i>
Thirteenth century, or Early English,	. . . . .	<i>Black.</i>
Decorated,	. . . . .	<i>Diagonal Hatching.</i>
Modern,	. . . . .	<i>In Outline.</i>
Destroyed portions,	. . . . .	<i>Dotted.</i>

- A. Destroyed Bell-Tower, Hiberno-Norman.
- B. Remnant of Moulded Hiberno-Norman. Entrance built up in the door to Tower.
- C. Double Piscina : thirteenth century.
- D. Stoup : thirteenth century.
- E. Sedilia and Single Piscina : fifteenth century.
- F. Font, Decorated ; original site.
- G. Rood Stairs.
- H.     "     "
- I. and K. North and South Porches (destroyed).

## REFERENCES TO THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

- i. Founder's Effigies and Tomb. Restored in 1619 by Earl of Cork.
- ii. Sepulchral Arch, Hiberno-Norman.
- iii. Monumental Stone, Coffin-lid : twelfth century.
- iv     "     "     to a female : thirteenth century.
- v.     "     "     Roger Deivil : thirteenth century.
- vi.    "     "     Alun :     "     "
- vii.   "     "     Effigy of Matthew Le Mercer.
- viii. Sepulchral Arch and Effigy (*unknown*) : thirteenth century.
- ix. Altar-tomb of Thomas Fleming : fifteenth century.
- x. Cross-slab to Uniacke, Mayor, 1557.
- xi.    "     "     Nagle, 1605.
- xii.   "     "     Ronane, 1621.
- xiii. Tomb of Villiers, President of Munster, 1626.
- xiv. Mausoleum of First Earl of Cork, 1643.
- xv. Monument of Earl of Orrery, 1679.

A LIST OF PAPERS ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF YOUGHAL WHICH HAVE  
APPEARED IN THE "JOURNAL" OF THE SOCIETY.

- Tradesmen's Tokens, vols. v., p. 222, 399; vi., 139, 262; vii., 149, 237.  
 The ecclesiastical antiquities of, iii., 96, 326; iv., 14.  
 St. Mary's Collegiate Church, iii., 96; Dineley's sketch and description of, vii., 324; plan of, iii., 103; the Boyle monument in, iii., 108; altar-tomb of Thomas Fleming in, iii., 118.  
 The Nunnery, or Chapel of St. Anne's, iii., 326; the light tower of St. Anne's, iii., 328; the Franciscan Friary, or South Abbey, iii., 329; the Dominican Friary, or North Abbey, iii., 333; iv., 287; St. John's House of Benedictines, iv., 14; Our Lady's College, iv., 16; the Warden's House, iv., 25.  
 Sir Walter Raleigh's House, iv., 25; town plundered by Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, iv., 16; x., 469; hand-mill found near, iv., 16; Rhincrew Preceptory, iv., 289; St. Coran of, iv., 289; ancient mason marks at, v., 67, 384; the local coinage of, v., 195, 222, 399; xv., 35; mayor's seal of, vi., 140; Youghal and Dungarvan connected, vi., 262; longevity of inhabitants, vii., 338*n*; derivation of name, vii., 323*n*; blockhouse, vii., 338*n*; seamen, vii., 322*n*; the ferry of, vii., 320; library of the Franciscan friars, transcript of catalogue made in 1491 (exhibited), xv., 9; Youghal money of necessity, xv., 35; flag of the Youghal Volunteers, xv., 263; cross-legged effigy in the Dominican Abbey, xv., 342.  
 Edward Gillet, goldsmith and Mayor of, xix., 303; acoustic vases in St. Mary's Church, iii., 303; tobacco introduced into, iii., 308.

A LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF YOUGHAL WHICH  
HAVE APPEARED IN THE "JOURNAL" OF THE SOCIETY.

- Acoustic Vases in St. Mary's Church, vol. iii., p. 304.  
 Altar-tomb of Thomas Fleming, iii., 118.  
 Cup-marked stone found near, xvii., 604.  
 Dineley's Tour, general view, vii., 322.  
 Dominican Friary (North Abbey), iii., 335; x., 469.  
 Doorway of St. John's House, iv., 14.  
 Earl of Cork's monument, vii., 328.  
 Franciscan Friary (South Abbey), iii., 331; x., 469.  
 General prospect from Cork road, vii., 325.  
 House of Sir Walter Raleigh, iv., 26.  
 Map of, in Elizabethan times, x., 469.  
 Money of necessity, coined there, v., 197, 198; xv., 35.  
 Ogam-stone, built into a wall, xv., 39.  
 Seal of Joh. de Yughul, iii., 330.  
 Seal of Mayor, vi., 140.  
 Short pipes (dudeens) found here, iii., 304.  
 St. Anne's light-tower, iii., 328.  
 St. Mary's Collegiate Church, vii., 324; exterior of choir, iii., 99; interior of choir, iii., 117; plan of church, iii., 102.  
 The College, vii., 323.  
 The Exchange and quay, vii., 321.  
 The iron gate, vii., 324.  
 Tradesmen's tokens, vi., 262, 263; vii., 237, 238; coined here, v., 223-231, 399; vii.  
 151.







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